Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age

Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture

Edited by
Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge

Volume 17

Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age

Communication and Miscommunication
in the Premodern World

Edited by Albrecht Classen

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Albrecht Classen (The University of Arizona)
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Theoretical and Historical Reflections. An Introduction

Throughout human history two issues have always stood out as fundamental, supporting and promoting society at large: languages and communication.[1] There are many criteria to define human existence and culture, but there is universal agreement that language provides us with more specific characteristics than any other phenomenon in order to interact with our social environment and context. It would probably be more accurate to talk in plural here, since no language simply stands alone by itself, being completely free from external influences. Even rigid language control cannot prevent a strong impact by surrounding or neighboring languages, although some exceptions, like the language of the Basques, Euskara, seem to confirm this rule, since it was never influenced by the Latin spoken by the colonizing Romans who were in full control of the Iberian Peninsula since ca. 19 B.C.E.

All languages serve individuals to communicate with others and hence to create a human community. We would probably not be able to survive as human beings without our ability to express our thoughts and feelings and to exchange them with our fellow-beings. In other words, we must convey our needs, fears, desires, our happiness and joy in one way or the other. Not surprisingly, one of the worst forms of punishment, apart from torture and execution, is total isolation, the denial of the human contact, especially total silence, which has been tragically practiced both in the past and also in the present.[2] The Aus-

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[1] The present volume arose out of three sessions that I had organized and chaired at the *48th International Congress on Medieval Studies* at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI, May 2012. Unfortunately, several speakers later could not contribute to the volume, but then I could attract several others in the course of time. The topic of multilingualism can certainly count as another fundamental one for our understanding of the Middle Ages and the pre-modern world. I am most thankful to all contributors for their great work, and am very grateful for their patience with my editorial inquiries and requests. My sincere thanks also go to the editorial staff at Walter de Gruyter in Berlin for their valuable assistance in getting this volume to print.

[2] Bruce A. Arrigo, Heather Y. Bersot, and Brian G. Sellers, *The Ethics of Total Confinement: A Critique of Madness, Citizenship, and Social Justice.* American Psychology-Law Society Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Lisa Guenther, *Solitary Confinement: Social Death and Its Afterlives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013); Derek S. Jeffreys, *Spirituality in Dark Places: The Ethics of Solitary Confinement.* Content and Context in Theological Ethics (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). For a strong statement even supporting solitary confinement in the eighteenth century, see Josiah Dornford, Esq, *Nine Letters to the Right Honorable the*

trian writer Stefan Zweig (1881–1942) provides an excruciating example for this topic in his famous novella "Chess Story" (1942),[3] but we can go much further back in order to learn more about the dangers and conflicts involved in human language and, vice versa, its absence, which we might identify simply with silence, hence death. Of course, there can be a type of spiritual silence, such as in monasteries, but that silence then is supposed to supplant the usual communication with other people with a communication with God.[4]

However, before we proceed further, let us make clear that human ideas, feelings, or concerns can be formulated in many different ways, hence not only by means of spoken or written words and sentences. 'Language' or rather communication can consist of gestures, mimicry, images, sounds, knots, or music, as long as any of those media allows the individual to communicate in an efficient manner. This requires, of course, a mutual agreement that any of those signs, gestures, images, or words really mean what they are supposed to convey, and that the receivers understand those signals accordingly.[5] The Spanish medieval poet Juan Ruiz, author of the famous fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor*, which I will discuss at the end of this essay, explicitly indicated

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Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, On the State of the Prisons and Prisoners Within Their Jurisdiction Shewing the Necessity of a Reform of Them: Urging the Great Advantage of Solitary Confinement, and the Treating of Prisoners with Humanity: With Observations on the Building of the New Compters, and Some Extracts of Mr. Howard's Proposed Improvements: To Which is Added an Account of the Deaths of Rob. May, Eliz. Gurney & T. Trimer, Who "Died for Want in the Poultry Compter" (London: Printed by J. Andrews, 1786); see also *The Prisoner's Companion Containing Religious and Moral Advice, Adapted to Persons in Solitary Confinement* (London: Sold by Dodsley, and Sewell, [1785]).

3 Albrecht Classen, "Chess in Medieval German Literature: A Mirror of Social-Historical and Cultural, Religious, Ethical, and Moral Conditions," *Chess in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: A Fundamental Thought Paradigm of the Premodern World*, ed. Daniel E. O'Sullivan. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 10 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2012), 17–44; see also the very useful article, providing a plot summary and historical background at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Royal_Game (last accessed on Aug. 31, 2015).

4 Scott G. Bruce, *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism: The Cluniac Tradition c. 900–1200.* Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser., 68 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Cf. also Volker Roloff, *Reden und Schweigen: zur Tradition und Gestaltung eines mittelalterlichen Themas in der französischen Literatur.* Münchener romanistische Arbeiten, 34 (Munich: Fink, 1973); Uwe Ruberg, *Beredtes Schweigen in lehrhafter und erzählender deutscher Literatur des Mittelalters: mit kommentierter Erstedition spätmittelalterlicher Lehrtexte über das Schweigen.* Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 32 (Munich: Fink, 1978).

5 See the introduction to *Words of Love and Love of Words in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 347 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008).

that this very form of agreement could be lacking, which hence could lead to major misunderstanding.[6]

Turning to *Genesis* in the Old Testament, we find the famous example of *The Tower of Babel*, in 11:1–9.[7] The origin of all languages is assumed to have been a universal medium of communication, and this in conformity with ancient, Platonic, philosophy according to which all phenomena in this world are the result of an evolutionary process, moving from the one harmonious origin to an endless plethora of future entities, that is, from the seed to the flower, for instance, or to the Good being the origin and also goal of all things and beings (Boethius, d. 525).

However, as the biblical author informs us: "They said to each other, 'Come, let's make bricks and bake them thoroughly.' They used brick instead of stone, and tar for mortar. Then they said, 'Come, let us build ourselves a city, with a tower that reaches to the heavens, so that we may make a name for ourselves; otherwise we will be scattered over the face of the whole earth.'" Once God realized the danger of global hubris involved in erecting the tower for mankind, which was possible because all people spoke just one language, He confused their languages and thus broke them all apart: "So the Lord scattered them from there over all the earth, and they stopped building the city. That is why it was called Babel—because there the Lord confused the language of the

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6 For a discussion of gestures, signs, and symbolic objects, see Marina Münkler and Matthias Standke, "Freundschaftszeichen: Einige systematische Überlegungen zu Gesten, Gaben und Symbolen von Freundschaft," *Freundschaftszeichen: Gesten, Gaben und Symbole von Freundschaft im Mittelalter*, ed. Marina Münkler, Antje Sablotny, and Matthias Standke. Beihefte zum *Euphorion*, 86 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2015), 9–32. They do not discuss, however, multilingual features. See also J. A. Burrow, *Gestures and Looks in Medieval Narrative*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 48 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); *Gestures, Behaviors, and Emotions in the Middle Ages*, ed. Allen J. Frantzen. Essays in Medieval Studies, 18 (Chicago, IL: Illinois Medieval Association, 2002).

7 *Holy Bible, New International Version*®, NIV® Copyright ©1973, 1978, 1984, 2011 by Biblica, Inc.®: https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Genesis%2011:1-9 (last accessed on Aug. 31, 2015). Cf. also *The Vulgate Bible*. Vol. 1: *The Pentateuch. Douay-Rheims Translation*, ed. Swift Edgar. Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2010). See now Phillip Michael Sherman, *Babel's Tower Translated: Genesis 11 and Ancient Jewish Interpretation*. Biblical Interpretation Series, 117 (Boston: Brill, 2013); for the ongoing political implications of this topic, see *Language and Technology: From the Tower of Babel to the Global Village* (Brussels: Office for Official Publ. of the European Communities, 1996). For a discussion of the medieval perspective, see Arno Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*. 4 vols. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1957–1963).

whole world. From there the Lord scattered them over the face of the whole earth" (Gen. 11: 8 – 9).

Since that time, as this mythological, or divinely inspired, account indicates, people spoke different languages, and, as a result of that, problems and conflicts emerged that continue to dominate even the modern world. In other words, as the biblical author clearly recognized, language and languages prove to be the critical benchmark of all human existence. The person or institution that controls languages, that is, that can speak many languages, or employs them in at least a mechanical fashion, also controls the world. Today, of course, we have available an ever growing number of computer-based gadgets and software programs that allow us to have our words and sentences translated mechanically into almost any language, but this does not mean at all that most people have the communicative means available to build bridges to any other social community—on the contrary. In one sense, the European Middle Ages were blessed in having Latin available as the *lingua franca* at least for all intellectuals. French enjoyed a fairly similar status from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century, and English, today specifically American English, does the same. But in another sense, as many literary works from the pre-modern era already indicate to us, this specific situation did not make communication any easier.[8]

All this pertains to the issue of communication, but not to bi- and multilingualism, which continues to matter greatly, and seems to gain in importance all the time in our present world considering the massive number of immigrants from the south to the north and the west, which creates a challenging mix of Indo-European with Arabic and many other languages. These millions of people mostly arrive as monolinguals, or as speakers of several languages not related to Indo-European, but they are quickly forced to acquire the new language in order to communicate with the new social environment, whether they achieve true mastery in the new language/s or not.

The huge number of distinct languages (at least ca. 6000) and of dialects (at least ca. 24,000) spoken all over the world is mind-boggling, all of them confirming the virtually endless capacities of the human brain, ever creating new languages and evolving old ones.[9] Every language is exposed to a constantly on-

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8 Albrecht Classen, *Verzweiflung und Hoffnung: Die Suche nach der kommunikativen Gemeinschaft in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Beihefte zur Mediaevistik, 1 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2002).

9 Oliver M. Traxel, "Languages," *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), vol. 2, 794 – 835. Cf. also the very useful *Metzler Lexikon Sprache*, ed. Helmut Glück (Stuttgart and Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 1993).

going process of adaptation, expansion, simplification or diversification, as any historical linguist can confirm. Languages and dialects can be very traditional and maintain their standard features over a long period of time, or they can be subject to a multiplicity of influences from outside (and inside) and so experience an infinite process of transformation.

But let us stay a little longer with the Bible, now turning to the New Testament, where we find another famous example of what languages mean and how they affect all of human culture. Since the Tower of Babel incidence, it is completely understood everywhere that people speak different languages and that this regularly causes problems and conflicts. If we do not understand each other, which brings about misunderstandings even among speakers of the same language, aggression, frustration, fear, and even violence can break out. Consequently, the world of translators has always been regarded with great respect, both in antiquity and in the Middle Ages. Translators prove to be most effective, though certainly not perfect intermediators between two or more languages and hence cultures and people. As soon as the language barrier falls away, amazing rapprochements can and do take place, although this is certainly not a guarantee. This phenomenon is already powerfully illustrated in the lives of Christ's apostles, as we can read in *Acts* 2:1–13. The text expresses clearly enough what happened and what the future of mankind consists of in terms of all of our communicative means:

> When the day of Pentecost came, they were all together in one place. Suddenly a sound like the blowing of a violent wind came from heaven and filled the whole house where they were sitting. They saw what seemed to be tongues of fire that separated and came to rest on each of them. All of them were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues as the Spirit enabled them. (1–4)

The historical situation in Jerusalem was unique because a large crowd of Jews had assembled there, all coming from many different countries, and hence most were speaking different languages not knowing what the others were saying:

> Now there were staying in Jerusalem God-fearing Jews from every nation under heaven. When they heard this sound, a crowd came together in bewilderment, because each one heard their own language being spoken. Utterly amazed, they asked: "Aren't all these who are speaking Galileans? Then how is it that each of us hears them in our native language? Parthians, Medes and Elamites; residents of Mesopotamia, Judea and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya near Cyrene; visitors from Rome (both Jews and converts to Judaism); Cretans and Arabs—we hear them declaring the wonders of God in our own tongues!" Amazed and perplexed, they asked one another, "What does this mean?" (5–12)

We do not know what happened next with respect to the multilingual miracle, but the author of the *Acts* at least informs us that thereupon a new community of faithful Christians emerged who lived a utopian life and apparently knew how to communicate with each other, whether by means of ordinary language or through the divine Spirit: "Every day they continued to meet together in the temple courts. They broke bread in their homes and ate together with glad and sincere hearts, praising God and enjoying the favor of all the people" (*Acts* 2: 46 – 47). This, of course, implied the fundamental demand of every Christian to go out and to preach to other people in order to spread God's words. This necessitated from very early on that the study of many languages became a critical task of the Christian Church. Indeed, many medieval religious writers reflected on the miracle of the Pentecost, signaling how much they were intrigued by the phenomenon of ordinary individuals suddenly being empowered by God to speak in different tongues.[10]

Multilingualism, hence, belongs to a universal dream and represents a deeply felt desire from the earliest time until today. But who spoke more than one language in the past, and what did this really mean for the individual, the community, the people, the country, and hence the world? As countless scholarship has already documented, the issue at stake is of greatest importance, but it is also difficult to come to terms with, and this also today, as much linguistic research, focusing on language acquisition, demonstrates.[11] After all, it seems highly unlikely that any speaker here in this world could be identified as completely monolingual. The term 'monolingualism' reveals the dubious concept involved here right away since 'lingual' refers to the dimension of language, and every language is the product of many different influences from other languages. Every language is situated in a smaller and larger language family and has drawn, to a larger or smaller extent, from other languages. Multilingualism hence could be defined in a variety of ways, implying, for instance, the knowledge of several languages, of just two languages (bilingualism)"[12] the understanding of another language without being a competent language speaker; or,

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10 Christine Cooper-Rompato, *The Gift of Tongues: Women's Xenoglossia in the Later Middle Ages* (State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010).

11 Leyre Ruiz de Zarobea and Yolanda Ruiz de Zarobe, "New Perspectives on Multilingualism and L2 Acquisition: An Introduction," *International Journal of Multilingualism*, published online Sept. 1, 2015: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14790718.2015.1071021#abstract

12 See the excellent contributions to *The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism*, ed. Tej K. Bhatia and William C. Ritchie. 2nd rev. ed. Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics (2004; Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2014).

which is a universal truth, it could also simply imply the realization that every language is made up of components borrowed from other languages.

For instance, what Indo-European language could be imagined where Latin and Greek have not had a lasting impact? What modern language, at least in the western world, does not contain an extensive corpus of French and English terms? Even though many people might not recognize the etymology of the words which they employ, there is no doubt that many factors are at play all the time in the formation and shaping of any language. How many Chinese and German words are actively in use in modern American English? Spanish or Portuguese contains numerous terms from the various indigenous American languages; Finnish has certainly accepted numerous words from abroad despite its at least traditionally restrictive language policy, and so on.[13] The same phenomenon was undoubtedly the case in previous centuries as well, so we can easily claim, without any value judgment, that virtually all people are multilingual to some degree, some more, others less, but language all by itself consists of numerous multilingual features.[14] If we probed the issue further, we would easily discover an endless stream of words that have been borrowed from one language into another, as is the case, for instance, with modern German, being present in a huge number of international languages.[15]

The present volume is predicated on these global and universal observations, yet the focus does not rest on generic linguistic aspects. Instead, the contributors examine specific cases both in the Middle Ages and the early modern era. It goes without saying by now that far into the eighteenth century Latin, and to a lesser degree also Greek, played a central role as the language of the learned and intellectuals. Greek was known in the west only sporadically,

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13 *Dangerous Multilingualism: Northern Perspectives on Order, Purity and Normality*, ed. Jan Blommaert (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Language Policies in Finland and Sweden: Interdisciplinary and Multi-Sited Comparisons, ed. Mia Halonen, Pasi Ihalainen, and Taina Saarinen. Multilingual Matters, 157 (Bristol, UK, and Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters, 2015).

14 This topic has been studied already for more than two hundred years; see now, for instance, *The Indo-European Languages*, ed. Anna G. Ramat and Paolo Ramat (London and New York: Garland, 1998); *Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe*, ed. Glanville Price (Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998); *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*, ed. Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy and Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre. Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics (Chichester, West Sussex, UK, and Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

15 https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_deutscher_W%C3%B6rter_in_anderen_Sprachen; https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_deutscher_W%C3%B6rter_im_Englischen (both last accessed on Sept. 24, 2015). For languages spoken in all countries of the world, see http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0855611.html (last accessed on Sept. 24, 2015). There are many other good online databases covering this large topic.

such as when we think of the impact which Queen Theophano (ca. 955–991), wife of the German Emperor Otto II (since 972), had on her court and the wider cultural environment. Greek was spoken wherever the Byzantines exerted their cultural influence, such as in southern Italy.

With the fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the Ottomans, the situation for the Greek language profoundly changed because masses of refuges found their way to Italy and elsewhere and often tried to survive by teaching Greek. Martin Luther commanded an excellent knowledge of Greek which allowed him to translate the New Testament easily and effectively into early modern German, especially when he produced his translation of the New Testament, the so-called September Testament, in 1522.[16] This philological skill expanded tremendously in the following decades and centuries. Similarly, the knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic developed, though with many more difficulties, as to be expected considering the different scripts and the short list of cognates due to those languages belonging to the Semitic language groups.

Many of these aspects have already been discussed and critically examined by numerous scholars working on the various languages and the exchanges among them. Each contributor to the present volume engages with those issues as well, and collectively we are making new efforts to review the relevant research literature in light of heretofore rather little considered documents reflecting forms of multilingualism.

Language has much to do with political, military, and economic power, and since the Middle Ages and the early modern time were periods in which many power structures changed as a consequence of great instability and fluctuating governments, kingships, etc., languages traveled much as well. The age of migration (third through fifth centuries) witnessed the move of many individual Germanic tribes throughout all of Europe, which had a tremendous impact on subsequent language developments, whether we think of the Visigoths or the Ostrogoths, the Vandals or the Lombards. The phenomenon of ethnogenesis is intimately tied in with the growth, death, and changes of languages.[17]

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16 See now the contributions to *Learning Latin and Greek from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Elizabeth P. Archibald, William Brockliss, and Jonathan Gnoza. Yale Classical Studies, 37 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). This topic has been addressed already earlier; see, for instance, Walter Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, trans. Jerold C. Frakes. Rev. and expanded ed. (1980; Washington, DC: The Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1988). Cf. also the by now 'classical' study by Bernhard Bischoff, "The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 36 (1961): 209–24.

17 Wolf Liebeschuetz, *East and West in Late Antiquity: Invasion, Settlement, Ethnogenesis and Conflicts of Religion*. Impact of Empire, 20 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015); see also the contri-

When new powerful groups conquered lands and countries, they brought with them their own language, but virtually always this remained only on the level of the suprastructure, and in the course of time commonly a linguistic hybridity came about, as we know, for instance, specifically from England, first settled by the Celts, then by the Germanic Angles and Saxons, who subsequently were defeated by the Normans under William the Conqueror in 1066. Even though their Anglo-Norman was used primarily only by the aristocrats and the administration, so we can observe the intriguing situation of trilingualism on the British Isles well into the early modern age, which Richard Ingham and Imogen Marcus examine particularly in their contribution to this volume, emphasizing the significance of Anglo-Norman also for a variety of advanced professions.

The situation in the Iberian Peninsula was extraordinarily complex, with Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, Castilian, Catalan, and a variety of other Iberian languages, not to mention the enigmatic Basque language (Euskara), all of them competing against and enriching each other.[18]

The Visigoths came and left, just as the Ostrogoths did, or they simply merged with the next power entity and the new language. Later, roughly since the seventh century, the Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish Vikings—better simply called 'Scandinavians'—roamed all the European coastlines and even traversed Russia, later settling in part on the northeastern coast of England, Normandy, Sicily and Southern Italy, and so probably either picked up languages from

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butions to *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Florin Curta. Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); *The Dynamics of Emerging Ethnicities: Immigrant and Indigenous Ethnogenesis in Confrontation*, ed. Johan Leman. 2nd rev. ed. (1998; Frankfurt a.M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2000); Marija Gimbutas, *Die Ethnogenese der europäischen Indogermanen*. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft: Vorträge und kleinere Schriften, 54 (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaften, 1992); *Entstehung von Sprachen und Völkern: glotto- und ethnogenetische Aspekte europäischer Sprachen. Akten des 6. Symposions über Sprachkontakt in Europa, Mannheim 1984*, ed. Per Sture Ureland. Linguistische Arbeiten, 162 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1985).

18 Again, this is a vast topic that has been studied from many different perspectives; see, for instance, *Vascos, celtas e indoeuropeos: genes y lenguas*, ed. Francisco Villar Liébana and Blanca María Prósper. Acta Salmanticensia, 307 (Salamanca: Editorial Universidad de Salamanca, 2005); Federico Corriente, *Dictionary of Arabic and Allied Loanwords: Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Galician and Kindred Dialects*. Handbuch der Orientalistik: Abt. 1. Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, 97 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008); Steven N. Dworkin, *A History of the Spanish Lexicon: A Linguistic Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); *Standard Languages and Multilingualism in European History*, ed. Matthias Hüning. Multilingualism and Diversity Management, 1 (Amsterdam: Benjamin, 2012); *A Sea of Languages: Rethinking the Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, ed. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Karla Mallette (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, [2013]).

where they went or influenced those areas where they stayed longer. In other words, we know that those raiders had a significant impact on the languages especially in those areas where they settled or at least stayed for a longer time. *Saga* literature, such as the thirteenth-century *Egil's Saga*, commonly reports that the Viking raiders or travelers reach many different countries, but never encounter linguistic challenges, whether they go to Denmark, England, Scotland, or the Baltic countries.[19] Old Norse exerted, for instance, a considerable influence on Anglo-Saxon, both in terms of lexicon (ca. 1000 Old Norse words entered 'English') and grammar (prepositions, use of the 's' for the third person singular of verbs, etc.).[20]

The situation in central and eastern Europe was certainly no less complex and hence triggered all kinds of multilingual situations. If we think of the massive migration of German farmers and others to areas we call today Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria, and then also the modern-day Baltic countries, we face another major clash and interaction of languages.

Curiously, however, when we consider early medieval literatures, dominated by heroic epics, the issue of linguistic barriers or multilingualism does not emerge at all since the various heroes simply talk with each other and face no difficulties in understanding each other, even when Arab Muslims and French Christians clash with each other, such as in the case of the Old French *Chanson de Roland*. Similarly, in the Old Spanish *El Poema de Mío Cid* or in the *Nibelungenlied*, the issues addressed are never of a linguistic kind. Foreign warriors appear at a court, challenge the entire ensemble of knights, or the king, and soon engage in fighting. We never hear of a translator when they talk with one another, as we hear in *Beowulf* or in "The Hildebrandslied."

This invites us, once again, to turn to a unique situation in the famous *Tristan and Isolde* by the Middle High German poet Gottfried von Straßburg (ca. 1210), where the Irish knight Morold appears at the court of the Cornish

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19 *Egil's Saga*, trans. by Bernard Scudder. Ed. with an intro. and notes by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (London: Penguin, 2004). For a discussion of the latest research on Scandinavian settlements, see Shane McLeod, *The Beginning of Scandinavian Settlement in England. The Viking 'Great Army' and Early Settlers, c. 865–900* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014). According to McLeod, the settlers actually tended to come more from Frisia and Ireland than from Scandinavia, but the final judgment about this hypothesis is still outstanding.

20 *Early Germanic Languages in Contact*, ed. John Ole Askedal and Hans Frede Nielsen. NOWELE Supplement Serie, 27 (Amsterdam: Benjamin, 2015); *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066–1520): Sources and Analysis*, ed. Judith A. Jefferson. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Diarmaid Ó Muirithe, *A Dictionary of Scandinavian Words in the Languages of Britain and Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010).

king Mark and demands his usual tribute.[21] This allows Gottfried to reflect briefly on the history of the Irish kingdom, which had been established by the African knight Gurmun the Gay who had, with the permission of the Roman Empire, conquered Ireland and set up his own rule there. Subsequently he conquered Cornwall and England, but at that time the future King of Cornwall, Mark, had been only a child and so could not do anything about resisting the external threat. Gurmun consolidated his power base in Ireland by marrying Isolde, the sister of one of the most influential aristocrats there, Morold (121). The latter becomes Gurmun's emissary and demands the terrible tribute of the barons' own children on Isolde's behalf, which exposes the weakness and failure of the Cornish nobles to fend for themselves.

Tristan, once he has returned to King Mark's court, learns about this terrible situation and is immediately set on daring the fight against Morold, which he will also win, although the latter wounds him with his sword that had been laced with poison. This then sets into motion further actions taking Tristan to Ireland where he will meet Isolde. But first, entering the court where the lots are drawn as to what baron would have to hand over his own children as a tribute, Tristan approaches them all, particularly Morold, voicing his great disgust about this shameful condition, and then engages with Morold who is greatly surprised, perhaps even alarmed that he faces suddenly, after so many years, serious and real opposition, even though only by a boyish young man who is not even knighted (125 ff.).

The details do not really matter for us, especially since the outcome of their duel is foreseeable—Tristan will overcome and kill Morold, though at the cost of being badly wounded/poisoned himself. It is the poet's liberty to develop any conversation as he sees fit, but we still ought to notice that the linguistic differences are never mentioned here and do not seem to play any role. Tristan origi-

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21 For the sake of convenience, here I use Gottfried von Straßburg, *Tristan*. Trans. entire for the first time. With the surviving fragments of the *Tristan* by Thomas. With an Introduction by A. T. Hatto (1960; Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1984). See now also, for a historical-critical edition, Gottfried von Straßburg, Tristan und Isold, ed. Walter Haug and Manfred Günter Scholz, mit dem Text des Thomas, herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Walter Haug. Bibliothek des Mittelalters, 10 – 11. Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker, 192 (Berlin: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 2011). There are now available numerous excellent critical introductions, see, for instance, Tomas Tomasek, *Gottfried von Straßburg* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2007); Christoph Huber, *Gottfried von Straßburg: Tristan*. 3rd, newly rev. and expanded ed. Klassiker-Lektüren, 3 (2000; Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2013); see also the contributions to *A Companion to Gottfried von Strassburg's "Tristan"*. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2003). I will turn to the multilingual situation in Gottfried's *Tristan* again in the preliminary section of my contribution to this volume.

nated from the kingdom of Parmenie; he has arrived at the court of Cornwall; and he faces an Irish knight. The romance never mentions any translator, any intermediator who would have helped the protagonists in their verbal exchanges. Everyone, including the barons and King Mark, fully understands the dialogue between Tristan and Morold, although the latter would have spoken Irish, while the others would have used their native tongue, Cornish, or some other Celtic or Germanic language.

None of that concerns Gottfried, and we could not even blame him for that shortcoming because the focus really rests on the David-Goliath model developed here (1 Samuel 17) for the purpose of setting the stage for Tristan to prove also his knightly superiority over all other members of the court.[22]

Nevertheless, the complete absence of any reflections on the differences in their languages strikes us remarkably in light of an earlier scene. But we can clearly recognize how much Gottfried really selected carefully what he wanted to enter into the fictional image he was drawing for his audience and what he wanted to leave out. Just as in virtually all heroic epics composed long before his time or at least reflecting earlier stages—such as the *Nibelungenlied*—the need to dramatize a battle scene overruled any other interest in dealing with concrete, everyday conditions, such as linguistic differences. However, we must keep in mind that it would have been highly unlikely that a warrior such as Morold would have had a solid command of Cornish or any other language apart from his mother tongue, and yet he and Tristan easily converse with each other, as if there were no linguistic barrier between them.

Much depends on the poet's interest, of course, and when Gottfried intends for us to realize what an extraordinary character and personality Tristan is, he allows the linguistic question to enter the fictional picture. As I have discussed already previously, the ability to operate successfully in a multilingual environment represents, both in the Middle Ages and today, almost a divine character.[23] When young Tristan arrives at King Mark's court, he quickly demonstrates to be not only a miraculously gifted musician who knows how to play many more music instruments than are even known at that court—the new King David, so

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22 Alex J. Denomy, "Tristan and the Morholt: David and Goliath," *Medieval Studies* 18 (1956): 224–32; Jacques Chocheyras, "Tristan et David," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale (Xe-XIIe Siècles)* 52 (2008): 159–66.

23 Albrecht Classen, "Polyglots in Medieval German Literature: Outsiders, Critics, or Revolutionaries? Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan*, Wernher the Gardener's *Helmbrecht*, and Oswald von Wolkenstein," *Neophilologus* 91.1 (2007): 101–15; id., "Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time," *Neophilologus* 97.1 (2013): 131–45.

to speak[24]—but also to be an accomplished speaker of countless languages, as if they were his native tongues. As far as I can tell, virtually no other poet in the Middle Ages dealt with multilingualism as explicitly as Gottfried does.

We know from numerous historical documents that medieval kings and other royalties were supposed to acquire or acclaimed of having learned a range of languages in order to be able to address their subjects in the respective tongues, but this does not tell us much with respect to their true understanding of those languages.[25] Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519), for instance, had artists include in his famous *Ehrenpforte* or *Triumphbogen* from 1515 that he command-ed knowledge of seven languages which helped him much in political and mili-tary contexts.[26]

There are also extensive data to confirm that numerous medieval poets were fluent enough in foreign languages in order to translate important texts and to present them to their own audiences either in a literal rendering or in a freer adaptation, such as Chaucer (drawing from Boccaccio's *Decameron* in his *Canter-bury Tales*), Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken (*Queen Sibille*), or Eleonore of Scotland, later the Duchess of Austria-Tyrol (*Pontus und Sidonia*)—all fifteenth century. Long before them, Marie de France had reflected in the prologue to her *Lais* (ca. 1190–1200) about what source text she should have used for her project, either Latin or ancient Breton poems, and then opted for the latter in order to present something innovative to her audiences.[27] Charles d'Orléans (1394–1465) was both a major English and a French poet, having spent twen-

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24 John Richardson, "Niuwer David, Niuwer Orpheus: Transformation and Metamorphosis in Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan*," *Tristania* 17 (1996): 85–109.

25 Reinhard Schneider, *Vom Dolmetschen im Mittelalter. Sprachliche Vermittlung in weltlichen und kirchlichen Zusammenhängen* (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2012).

26 *Maximilian's Triumphal Arch: Woodcuts by Albrecht Dürer and Others* (New York: Dover Pub-lications, 1972), Plate 12 c–d, here d, Charlemagne being situated next to the Roman rulers Jus-tinianus and Eraclius. This major work was created by Albrecht Dürer and his assistant Wolf Traut, and also by Albrecht Altdorfer of Regensburg, who is credited with the conception and the draftsmanship of the outermost round towers. Dürer's brother Hans also might have contrib-uted a few figures. The best online source proves to be: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trium phal_Arch (woodcut) (last accessed Sept. 24, 2015).

27 Albrecht Classen, "Translation as the Catalyst of Cultural Transfer," *Humanities—Open Ac-cess Journal* Humanities 2012, 1, 72–79 (http://www.mdpi.com/journal/humanities) (http://www.mdpi.com/2076-0787/1/1/72/; id., "Translating and Translators in the Middle Ages: Lin-guistic Challenges Perceived Through Literary Eyes," *Aspects of Literary Translation: Building Linguistic and Cultural Bridge in Past and Present*, ed. Eva Parra-Membrives, Migue,l Ángel Gar-cía Peinado, and Albrecht Classen. Translation, Text and Interferences, 1 (Tübingen: Narr, 2012), 17–41.

ty-five years of imprisonment in England and then spending the rest of his life back home in the French-speaking world.[28]

Very few poets, however, have ever fully addressed the same issue as in the miracle of the Pentecost. Indirect evidence for multilingualism exists in countless measures, especially since literature throughout time has been deeply influenced by poets in other tongues. Somebody, hence, had learned a different language, or commanded even knowledge of several languages. At times poets such as those whose songs are combined in the famous *Carmina Burana* (ca. 1220), ironically play on their bilingualism, integrating Middle High German into their Latin texts, for instance.

We also know of many situations in politics and military campaigns in which translators, hence multilingual speakers, were of great importance. But it would be difficult to come across an example as powerful and as specific regarding the huge significance of (foreign) languages as Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan*. The protagonist appears, from early on, as a prodigal child, extraordinarily trained and educated in everything a courtly figure ought to be able to perform, but this now to perfection. We recognize this, however, only once he has been kidnapped by Norwegian merchants and once they have released him again because they fear for their lives. The storm that had arisen—after they had escaped with their young prisoner—obviously speaks God's language and threatens to engulf them entirely, until they finally decide to let Tristan go. This way he manages to reach King Mark's court, where he quickly gains the highest respect not only for his skills in butchering a dead deer and transforming the corpse into an art object, but then for his abilities to play all kinds of music instruments, even those that are completely unknown at Mark's court. While playing music, he sings the verses for those songs in Breton, Welsh, Latin, and French, which evokes the king's curiosity since he wonders whether he might know various other language.

And soon enough, with the entire court pressing in on him, he demonstrates that he also has full command of Norwegian, Irish, German, Scottish, and Danish, thus proving to be a polyglot, almost from the time prior to the building of the Tower of Babel, as reported about in the Old Testament. Everyone longs to be like Tristan, who is only fourteen years of age, and the king himself accepts him

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28 See, for instance, Charles d'Orléans, *Fortunes Stabilnes: Charles of Orleans's English Book of Love. A Critical Edition*, by Mary-Jo Arn (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1994).

as his closest friend whom he asks to accompany him on his hunting trips during the day and to entertain him with music at night.[29]

Of course, all this happiness lasts just a short time, and soon enough this prodigal child becomes the object of jealousy, envy, and hatred because he outpaces them all, casts too much of a shadow upon them all, and presents to them the ideal of true knighthood and chivalry at court which none of them apparently can live up to like Tristan. This then sets the stage for all the subsequent events that introduce the experience of suffering and sorrow, both for Tristan and Isolde, but also for King Mark.

As far as our topic is concerned, Tristan demonstrates that individuals can indeed learn many languages and have a solid command of them if they find the right tutors and are reasonably well skilled in this art. But the poet further suggests that multilingualism truly represents a divine skill and that those who have the command over more than their own mother tongue deserve to be praised highly, having achieved a status of being almost divine creatures here on earth. Gottfried probably projects a type of multilingualism that reflects the linguistic situation in northern and western Europe, underscoring the coexistence of the various Scandinavian, Celtic, and Germanic languages, along with Latin. Little wonder that people at Mark's court at first just love this young man, who represents to them an ancient dream of how to overcome the tragedy of the Tower of Babel and to recover the universal language.

Of course, Gottfried does not address that issue itself, but he has his protagonist speak so many languages that he can virtually talk with everyone wherever he goes. He can easily communicate with Morold and later deceive his sister, the Irish queen, speaking their language and pretending to be an ordinary but linguistically gifted merchant who was mistreated by pirates.

But as much as Tristan appears as a human being graced by God in many different ways, as little does he ultimately achieve the goal of gaining his happiness with Isolde. Of course, at that point we no longer hear of his multilingualism since many other concerns occupy him and his beloved. Even though both at the end retire into the cave where they experience for a short time a utopian existence, they cannot sustain that isolation and must return to Mark's court, where, however, the same dilemma waits for them, making all their hopes for a fulfilled love impossible.

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29 Otmar Werner, "Tristan sprach auch Altnordisch: Fremdsprachen in Gottfrieds Roman," *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur* 114.3 (1985): 166–87; Albrecht Classen, *Verzweiflung und Hoffnung* (see note 8), 314–16.

Certainly, Tristan and Isolde have developed a unique language of love which only they both share and which makes it possible for them throughout the second part of the romance to speak to each other drawing on a linguistic code which the others cannot comprehend.[30] However, as the imminent fragmentary conclusion indicates, all their specific skills, abilities, and knowledge does nothing to overcome the paradox of their love; therefore Tristan finally leaves, forced out by Mark, while Isolde stays behind, lamenting profoundly her personal tragedy, without any sense of hope for a solution.

As much as Tristan seemed to have overcome the problem of the tower of Babel, hence of all of mankind, his linguistic skills at the end prove to be useless to achieve anything within the constraints of the courtly world. Even though we are profoundly impressed by young Tristan as an artist, courtier, knight, and lover, and then also as a polyglot, the open conclusion of Gottfried's romance signals that nothing here on earth can bring about the realization of the ideals supporting their love. Nevertheless, Tristan's capacity to address virtually every person in his world in the respective language projects an idyllic, or utopian, situation that cannot be sustained. All those people surrounding him and then later also Isolde care very little about their intellectual sophistication and try only to trap them in order to eliminate those role models that simply put them to shame, both with regard to their courtly manner and their multilingualism, and especially, which is far beyond our concern here, in order to remove the dangerous challenge to the traditional dynastic inheritance rules. We never hear again King Mark exclaiming his joy and happiness over Tristan's artistic and linguistic skills, especially once he has returned from Ireland with Isolde as Mark's future wife.

A few decades before Gottfried, the Priest Konrad translated the Old French *Chanson de Roland* first into Latin and then into Middle High German, thus proving his trilingualism.[31] He does not explain the reasons for this complex process,

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30 Rüdiger Schnell, *Suche nach Wahrheit: Gottfrieds "Tristan und Isold" als erkenntniskritischer Roman.* Hermaea, Germanistische Forschungen. Neue Folge, 67 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1992).

31 *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad: Mittelhochdeutsch / Neuhochdeutsch.* Herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Dieter Kartschoke (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1993); for an English translation, see *Priest Konrad's Song of Roland*, trans. and with an intro. by J. W. Thomas. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1994). Consult also the very solid and important edition *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*, ed. Carl Wesle. Third, rev. ed. by Peter Wapnewski. Altdeutsche Textbibliothek, 69 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1985), 9077–83.

but he might have been most familiar with Latin as the learned language and then might have felt more comfortable to render the original text into German through that linguistic channel.[32] However, this was not an unusual process. Many poets in the Middle Ages drew inspiration from literary sources in other languages, whether Italian, Latin, or French. But it would be difficult to identify literary works that were translated from Spanish or English into French or German. Marie de France, at least, demonstrated good Latin language skills, and she was also fluent, as it appears, in Old Breton, since she based her *Lais* on ancient Breton stories, as already noted above. Many Dutch-speaking poets translated works from the French, and those Dutch narratives were then often translated into Middle Low German, such as *Karel ende Elegast*, but the reverse process did not necessarily happen.[33]

Old Norse poets rendered many Middle High German epics into their own language, but the opposite does not seem to have taken place. Altogether, however, most medieval and early modern poets and authors were competent in at least one or two other languages, which makes most pre-modern literature to a phenomenon that closely mirrors multilingualism.[34]

More often than not, for example, poets reflected on linguistic problems and indicated how their protagonists overcame language problems by resorting to a common language known to both sides. In Rudolf von Ems's *Der guote Gêrhart* (ca. 1220 – 1230), the protagonist, a merchant from Cologne, traverses many parts of the known world and finally ends in Morocco, where he is warmly welcomed by the local Arabic duke, Stranmûr, with gestures. The latter immediately recognizes that they do not speak the same language, so he approaches him in French: "'sagent an, verstât ir franzoys?'" (1352; tell me, do you understand

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32 Dieter Kartschoke, "*in die latine bedwungen:* Kommunikationsprobleme im Mittelalter und die Übersetzung der 'Chanson de Roland' durch den Pfaffen Konrad," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 111 (1989): 196–209.

33 This has been discussed already quite extensively by Dutch and other scholars; see, for instance, Bart Besamusca, "Verstümmelter Überfluss: die mittelniederländische Karlsepik," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 130 (2011), Sonderheft, 97 – 111; id., *Karolus Rex: Studies Over de Middeleeuwse Verhaaltraditie Rond Karel de Grote*. Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen, 83 (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005).

34 See, for instance, Sif Rikhardsdottir, *Medieval Translations and Cultural Discourse: The Movement of Texts in England, France and Scandinavia* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2012). For the French-German literary relationship still most relevant, see Joachim Bumke, *Die romanisch-deutschen Literaturbeziehungen im Mittelalter: Ein Überblick* (Heidelberg: C. Winter Universitätsverlag, 1967). Cf. also *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066 – 1520)*, ed. Ad Putter and Judith Jefferson. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

French?).[35] Gêrhart responds that he knows both the country and its language well, and from then on their communication flows well.[36] Later, once they have struck a kind of friendship and approach each other with the familiar second person singular (1480), they do not face communication problems any longer. Moreover, Stranmûr makes him an offer of an extraordinary kind, suggesting that they swap their best treasures, that is, Gêrhart's merchandise for a large group of Christian prisoners. The Christian protagonist is deeply moved by the prisoners' miserable condition, and approaches them to find out their preference before he can make a decision. Again, a language barrier arises, but it turns out that Gêrhart can handle even another foreign language, this time English: "in franzoys gruozt ich sî zehant. / diu sprâche was in niht erkant / sô wol als englisch: die kund ich" (1981–83; I greeted them right away in French, but that language was not so well known to them as English, which I knew).

He might as well have been another Tristan, considering his polyglot skills, although he belongs to the merchant class. However, Tristan repeatedly assumes the role of a merchant to deceive the opposing side and to carry out his secret strategies. The ability and necessity to communicate in one or more foreign languages as soon as one went on extensive travels or journeys was, hence, fully recognized already in the Middle Ages. Both pilgrims and merchants, both diplomats and artists were clearly aware about it, which hence found its way also into the literary discourse of that time.[37]

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35 We often hear of Arabic princes/princesses and western nobles in various high medieval romances and *chansons de geste* who are able to communicate with each other in French. This also makes it possible at times for the European protagonist to engage with an Arabic princess, who then falls in love with him and escapes with him to the West, where she is then marries the protagonist. See Albrecht Classen, "Confrontation with the Foreign World of the East: Saracen Princesses in Medieval German Narratives," *Orbis Litterarum* 53 (1998): 277–95; Sahar Amer, *Crossing Borders: Love Between Women in Medieval French and Arabic Literatures*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

36 Rudolf von Ems, *Der guote Gêrhart*, ed. John A. Asher. 2nd rev. ed. Altdeutsche Textbibliothek, 56 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1971); for the most comprehensive discussion of this text to date, see Sonja Zöller, *Kaiser, Kaufmann und die Macht des Geldes: Gerhard Unmaze von Köln als Finanzier der Reichspolitik und der "Gute Gerhard" des Rudolf von Ems*. Forschungen zur Geschichte der älteren deutschen Literatur, 16 (Munich: Fink, 1993).

37 Jonathan Hsy, *Trading Tongues: Merchants, Multilingualism, and Medieval Literature*. Interventions: New Studies in Medieval Culture (Columbus, OH: Ohio State Univ. Press, 2013); *Guilds, Towns and Cultural Transmission in the North*, ed. Lars Bisgaard, Lars Boje Mortensen, and Tom Pettitt (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013); *Commercial Networks and European Cities, 1400–1800*, ed. Andrea Caracausi and Christof Jeggle. Perspectives in Economic and Social History, 32 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009).

We can find another, though again rather ambivalent example of multilingualism in the Old Spanish treatise *Libro de buen amor* by the Archpriest of Hita, Juan Ruiz, composed either in 1330 or 1343, depending on how we interpret the respective statements by the author in the different manuscripts.[38] While this text certainly belongs to world literature and hence would require an extensive discussion all by itself, here I will focus on one specific scene which reflects some of the fundamental problems with languages in a multilingual context. Even though Juan Ruiz indicates early on that he intended to write an autobiography, this purpose is quickly set aside and replaced by a gamut of many different literary strategies based on a multiplicity of genres.

Juan Ruiz in reality plays with his readers/listeners and demonstrates his complete mastership over a wide range of genres, all of which are only loosely held together by the global theme of love and general instructions about it. His purpose hence ultimately consists of alerting us to the multiplicity of meanings hidden behind words, as when he then concludes that his own book addresses everyone just as Holy Scriptures do, requiring each individual reader to pay closest attention to the many levels of messages. For him this applies specifically to the world of erotic and spiritual love: "las del buen amor sson Razones encubiertas; / trabaja do fallares las sus señales çiertas"—"The words of good love are secret words. / Try hard to find the clearest signs" (68, 1–2).

The author never really takes into consideration the issue of multilingualism, or of human communication, except for one time where a conflict between the ancient Greeks and the Romans over whether the latter should be entitled to gain access to good laws is decided. The problem consists of both sides not being able to speak each other's language, which the narrator, however, views as a comical situation, allowing him to explore the fundamental problems all people face here on earth. The Greeks question the Romans' ability to handle the laws properly, but they are willing to put them to the test (44–70), although the communication between them proves to be difficult. Even though Ruiz relates this

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38 Juan Ruiz, *The Book of Good Love*, trans. by Elizabeth Drayson Macdonald (London: J. M. Dent, 1999). This edition/translation has the advantage of presenting the English translation on the right hand side parallel to the original on the left hand side. For further readings, see the contributions to *A Companion to the "Libro de buen amor"*, ed. Louise M. Haywood. Colección Támesis, A 209 (Rochester, NY: Tamesis, 2004); to *El "Libro de buen amor": texto y contextos*, ed. Guillermo Serés, Daniel Rico Camps, and Omar Sanz (Bellaterra: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, Centro de Estudios e Investigación de Humanidades, 2008), or to *Autour du "Libro de buen amor"*, ed. Rica Amran and Jacques Joset (Paris: Indigo & côté-femmes éd., [Amiens]: Université de Picardie Jules Verne, 2005); Sofía Kantor, *Amor dethronatus: semántica y semiótica del "daño" y del "engaño": libro de buen amor cc. 181–422*. Medievalia Hispanica, 18 (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt a. M.: Vervuert, 2014).

little story in jest, it still certainly reflects on the awareness in fourteenth-century Spain that Greek and Latin were very different languages, that the former was hardly known by anyone, and, much more importantly, that the mechanical acquisition of a foreign language does not necessarily imply the development of bi- or multilingualism.

Without the possession of the ancient laws, the Romans are afraid that they would be badly subordinated under the Greeks, probably in cultural, if not also in political terms (stanza 47). The Greeks, however, having very little respect for the Romans, doubt that they command enough intelligence to receive the laws. But since the Romans want to govern themselves and hence would need laws, they are ready to find out about their ability to handle the laws properly by way of a disputation (48). However, the Romans do not know Greek, which their superiors acknowledge without a grudge, so they finally agree to run the debate by means of signs: "por señas de letrado" (49, 4). The Romans now grow anxious since they are just too aware of themselves not being learned and greatly worry that they would not be able to stand up to any of the highly educated Greeks: "a su mucho saber" (50, 4). In their dilemma, they finally decide to choose a simple person who is at least trained in making gestures, but they do not tell him what the debate is all about; instead they dress him pompously as if he were a highly respected doctor of philosophy (53).

At first, the chosen Greek debater makes a sign, using just his index finger (55, 2). In response, the Roman shows him three (56, 1). Thereupon the Greeks shows his palm, extending it into the air (57, 1–2), to which the Roman, now specifically characterized as a buffoon filled with aggression, holds up his clenched fist, as if ready to fight (57, 4).

This, curiously, satisfies the Greek who tells all of his people that the Romans deserve to receive the laws, obviously having demonstrated their full understanding of the fundamental principles. Once both sides have separated, the Greeks ask their representative about the meaning of his signals or gestures. He explains that he had first said that there is only one God, to which the Roman had responded that there is one God in three (Trinity). Then he had commented that everything in this world is subject to his power, whereupon the Roman had answered that He is holding everything in His hand. For him this simply means: "entendien e crey en la Trinidad" (60, 3).

Asked about his interpretation of the exchange, the Roman fool answers that he saw the Greek showing him with the one finger that he would poke out one of his eyes, which irritated him considerably. Hence he had shown him with three fingers that he would respond by poking out both of his eyes and then crack his teeth (62), concluding that with his menacing gestures he had shut up the timid opponent. But in reality he thus exposed his complete ignorance and also his

aggression, altogether thus his complete lack of interest in a meaningful communication which he was supposed to carry out on behalf of all the Romans. But all that does not matter since the other side is fully convinced that the Romans, through their 'learned' representative, have demonstrated a strong and clear comprehension of the fundamental truth of the Christian teaching and thus deserve to receive the laws, that is, to be included in the circle of wise and intelligent people.

Juan Ruiz primarily pursues a satirical goal, pulling the leg of all educated people, like himself. As in so many other cases throughout this complex, at times even contradictory treatise, his comic comments shed important light on the fundamental truth hidden behind this short episode in which all ideals of human communication on the surface seem to come true, while in reality the very opposite is the case.

For our purposes, we can realize, first of all, that the poet projects a clear difference between Greek and Latin, while he himself resorts, of course, to medieval Spanish. His account is predicated on the realization that humanity is indeed divided into very separate language groups, which can cause major conflicts and tensions. Moreover, language is identified as a medium of intellectual power, but both parties are willing to resort to a compromise, utilizing only gestures. But even the hope that gestures might be universal is quickly smashed, as the fool's responses indicate, and as the Greek's complete misunderstanding in a positive sense reveals. The latter reads the signs made by the buffoon only in light of his own interests and concerns and does not take into account that a possibly very different intention might be implied. Simultaneously, the Roman appears at the staging ground without any knowledge what is really at stake; and he has no intention to learn what might be expected from him.

Ironically, however, his very foolishness and arrogance make it possible for the Greek to comprehend, so to speak, what his opponent seems to suggest. Ultimately, as Juan Ruiz thus implies, even gestures can lead to miscommunication, and the best intentions to build bridges between various languages and people might miserably fail because it is not only the words that matter in all human interactions. We also have to take into consideration intentions, hidden agendas, and, tragically, the simple possibility that people do not understand each other, either because they do not want to, or because they cannot for linguistic reasons.

Juan Ruiz here treats, in short, the fundamental truth that epistemology might be one of the most difficult subject matters in all of human existence because no individual is perfectly attuned with the others, and no effort to learn languages and to utilize basic gestures—or perhaps images, music, or color—can guarantee the establishment of harmonious and functioning communica-

tion. Multilingualism is the phenomenon we are dealing with throughout this book, but it is predicated on the realization that human beings have a hard time, irrespective of gender, age, culture, language, or religion, to reach out to each other.

The ability to converse in different languages with one another proves to be a major step forward in human culture, but, as Ruiz's example demonstrates, even the best polyglot, such as Tristan (see above), can easily fail because language is the expression of ideas, values, concerns, interests, and feelings which might be very much in opposition to one another, and until those conflicts are not overcome, even the best dictionary or human lexicon cannot solve the issues. Our world today has not become better at all because we can translate more and more languages (and hence texts) into any other language by means of the computer.

At first, as all literary, philosophical, or religious texts have consistently demonstrate, we need true human interaction, then a readiness to accept the other as an equal partner, and if we then can resort to a commonly shared language, the practical steps toward the goal of a true community can follow through. Of course, polyglots have a great advantage over others in terms of their linguistic and communicative skills, but this has never meant that they have hence an easy time operating in this world.

All this might sound rather negative, particularly in light of Ruiz's message in his *Libro de buen amor*, which, at the end, does not seem to be a book about 'good love' at all. The irony, sarcasm, and even cynicism cannot be overlooked. Nevertheless, the example provided by him allows us in a critically important fashion to begin the in-depth analysis of what the meaning might be of the infinite differences in languages and how we as individuals might or should come to terms with it to avoid being lost in the labyrinth of expressions and meanings. Intriguingly, the study of bi- and multilingualism is not limited to the modern world, but pertains to human conditions throughout time, and hence also the Middle Ages, as the contributors to this volume do. Our research specialties limit us to the European continent, but we can be certain that the phenomenon itself is of global relevance.[39]

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39 See, for instance, Jennifer Lindsay, *Between Tongues: Translation and/of/in Performance in Asia* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006); Umberto Ansaldo, *Contact Languages: Ecology and Evolution in Asia*. Cambridge Approaches to Language Contact (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); *Multilingual, Globalizing Asia: Implications for Policy and Education*, ed. Lisa Lim, Ee Ling Low, and Susanne Niemeier. AILA Review, 22 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co., 2009).

In the subsequent centuries the issue of human language/s did not become easier or simpler; on the contrary, as some of the cases investigated here indicate. Multilingualism seems to be a wonderful instrument to overcome many communicative hurdles, but it has also not been a panacea, irrespective of the miracle during Pentecost as discussed in the New Testament. Nevertheless, the ability to speak more than one, or even several languages, continues to be most fascinating and productive in all human interaction, even if many of the material problems are not simply overcome thereby. But multilingualism would not always be the result of deliberate efforts by an individual or a group of people. As many of the contributors to our volume signal, we simply identify specific linguistic situations in medieval and early modern societies as multilingual because of the presence of many speakers who resorted to a variety of languages for their daily communication.

The example of the early modern text compilation of accounts about *Till Eulenspiegel* (1510), who constantly makes fun of people all around him, and this commonly by way of exposing their too narrow conception of language, clearly signals that the deeper problems in human communication consist of a lack of readiness to accept each other in our linguistic, ethical, moral, and philosophical limitations. Eulenspiegel never endeavors to learn or speak another language, but many of his actions that make us laugh at him, or rather at ourselves, signal stunningly where the true problems rest. The linguistic shortcomings hence are reflections of the fundamental shortcomings.[40]

Of course, we need to start somewhere, and the practical acquisition of a foreign language is certainly a major step in the right direction, as countless medieval and early modern examples in literature, philosophy, the sciences, medicine, and the arts indicate. The present volume intends to pursue the same goal by way of analyzing how individual writers in the pre-modern world viewed the phenomenon itself and how they evaluated it or practiced it themselves for their own purposes. To be sure, multilingualism, whether in its subtle, indirect manifestation, or in explicit terms, proves to be part of our human existence.

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40 For a good English translation, see *Till Eulenspiegel: His Adventures*, trans., with introduction and notes, by Paul Oppenheimer (New York and London: Garland, 1991); cf. Albrecht Classen, "Der komische Held Till Eulenspiegel: Didaxe, Unterhaltung, Kritik," *Wirkendes Wort* 42.1 (1992): 13–33; id., "Transgression and Laughter, the Scatological and the Epistemological: New Insights into the Pranks of Till Eulenspiegel," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 33 (2007): 41–61; id., "Laughter as the Ultimate Epistemological Vehicle in the Hands of Till Eulenspiegel," *Neophilologus* 92 (2008): 417–89.

However, many times, if not on a daily basis, both in the pre-modern world and today, people have faced huge linguistic challenges and do not easily, if at all, understand the members of a new social environment, so they draw on translators. For instance, the famous pilgrim author Arnold von Harff, who embarked in Cologne on his extended pilgrimage in 1496, provides a good illustration for this. When preparing himself for his voyage from Venice to the Holy Land via Alexandria in Egypt, he hired Master Vincent as translator, a professional "Trutschelman," who knew, to his great amazement, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Slavic, Greek, Turkish, and even Arabic. Arnold remarks that he found out later that this Spaniard had abandoned his Christian faith, but in the long run this does not matter for him in the slightest.[41]

Human language simply proves, throughout time, to be a huge potential and yet also challenge. All the examples that we will discuss below reflect on this phenomenon and confirm, oddly, perhaps, that virtually all people are, to a greater and a lesser extent, basically bi- and multilingual, whether they know it or not. Our focus on the pre-modern world will allow us to underscore this fundamental aspect of all our existence, as problematic and difficult it often appears to be for many individuals since language constitutes identity and determines our lives. Those who are competent in several languages, or even know just a smattering of different language phrases good enough to communicate in a foreign society tend to appear as role models, and yet they also engender anxiety and jealousy among the others. Who would not want to be a participant and recipient of the Pentecostal miracle? But to be multilingual is a very hard task, daunting and yet alluring at the same time, as the pre-modern examples illustrate just too well.

To help the reader steer through this volume, I will next comment briefly on each contribution and thus try to outline the red-thread through this book and to put the separate puzzle pieces together for the whole picture. Admittedly, so far I

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41 *Rom, Jerusalem, Santiago: das Pilgertagebuch des Ritters Arnold von Harff (1496–1498), nach dem Text der Ausgabe von Eberhard von Groote*, übersetzt, kommentiert und eingeleitet von Helmut Brall-Tuchel und Folker Reichert. 2nd rev. ed. (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008), 86; for an English translation, see *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff, Knight: From Cologne Through Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Ethiopia, Nubia, Palestine, Turkey, France, and Spain, which he accomplished in the years 1496 to 1499*, trans. from the German and ed. with notes and an intro. by Malcolm Letts. Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second series, 94 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1946). See Albrecht Classen, "Travel Space as Constructed Space: Arnold von Harff Observes the Arabic Space," *German Studies Review* 33.2 (2010): 375–88. For further explanations of this kind of translator in the Muslim world, see the contribution to this volume by K. A. Tuley.

have not fully engaged with the current research on medieval multilingualism here, since each contributor has much to say about the specific field of the individual research topic. Instead, it deserves particular mention that the topic of multilingualism surprisingly connects the postmodern world with the pre-modern culture in Europe and elsewhere, especially because this phenomenon is commonly the result of contact zones where various cultures, religions, and languages either clashed or combined, forming new entities. This is very much of greatest concern today when millions of asylum seekers and migrants are arriving in Europe and North America, bringing with them their own languages and struggling to cope with the new linguistic environment.

Many times the situation in the pre-modern world was not that much different from our conditions today, with war campaigns, conquests, crusades, the Reconquista in the Iberian Peninsula, colonizing efforts by the British in Ireland, but then also with the ever-ongoing diaspora of the Jewish population spreading all over Europe and elsewhere. Expulsion and integration, cohabitation and *convivencia*, social mixing, marriage, friendship, diplomacy, and trade almost automatically led to the emergence of bi- and monolingualism. If we want to understand that phenomenon in the present world, it proves to be highly useful to study the conditions as they existed in the Middle Ages and beyond.[42]

Not surprisingly, most of the contributions deal with the linguistic situation in Ireland and the British Isles, in southern France, in the Iberian Peninsula, and in the Holy Land. But this does not mean, of course, that we could not discover multilingual phenomena also in Italy, the Holy Empire, in Scandinavia, and in the Slavic-speaking world.

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42 See, for instance, *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. D. A. Trotter (Cambridge and Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 2000); *Medieval Multilingualism: The Francophone World and its Neighbours*, ed. Christopher Kleinhenz and Keith Busby. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); Catherine E. Léglu, *Multilingualism and Mother Tongue in Medieval French, Occitan, and Catalan Narratives*. Penn State Romance Studies (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010); *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in Medieval England, c.800-c.1250*, ed. Elizabeth M. Tyler. Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011); *Foreign Influences on Medieval English*, ed. Jacek Fisiak and Magdalena Bato. Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature, 28 (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2011); Jonathan Horng Hsy, *Trading Tongues: Merchants, Multilingualism, and Medieval Literature.* Interventions (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2013); *Spoken and Written Language: Relations Between Latin and the Vernacular Languages in the Earlier Middles Ages* ed. Mary Garrison, Arpad P. Orbán, and Marco Mostert. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013). For a pragmatic anthology, see *Le plurilinguisme au Moyen Âge: de Babel à la langue une: Orient-Occident*, textes édités par Claire Kappler et Suzanne Thiollier-Méjean. Méditerranée médiévale (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009).

Summaries

In the first article, Ken Mondschein approaches the issue of multilingualism in the Middle Ages from a broad perspective, focusing on the way how foreign languages were learned at that time and for what purposes, apart from the standard Latin that was the *conditio sine qua non* for all medieval intellectuals. But the entire history of the medieval world is filled with reports about cultural, political, military, and hence also linguistic clashes, which often led to a mixing or merging of languages, as documented by numerous individuals capable of speaking several languages. Mondschein mentions numerous cases where two peoples confronted each other and hence had to take note of their different languages, and then he also considers the vast stream of travelers (pilgrims, merchants, diplomats, craftsmen, etc.) who encountered many foreign languages and then had to cope with them interactively. Both economic interests and religious enthusiasm supported the acquisition of foreign languages, as the many different examples, cited by Mondschein, illustrate.

Most importantly, he also notes that already in the Middle Ages there was a clear sense about the identificatory function of a language, especially when a military operation aimed at eliminating the enemy's language, either by killing the speakers or by banning the use of the other language. Missionaries throughout time have had a hard time with the many different languages spoken by those whom they tried to convert to their own religion, mostly Christianity. While Mondschein discusses various important examples from the medieval period, we could easily also turn to the global organization of the Jesuits (since 1540) who endeavored very hard to make its missionaries learn the individual local languages.[43] The history of translators has not yet been fully written, and it might be hard to cover this topic well because they often disappear from public view and are not mentioned in the sources, but the few fleeting references from the pre-modern world richly confirm that those gifted linguists were in high demand and served extremely important functions in political negotiations, for pilgrims, and missionaries as well.[44]

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43 Albrecht Classen, *Early History of the Southwest through the Eyes of German-Speaking Jesuit Missionaries: A Transcultural Experience in the Eighteenth Century* (Lanham, MD, Boulder, et al.: Lexington Books, 2013), 151–52.

44 *Translators Through History*, ed. Jean Delisle and Judith Woodsworth. Benjamins Translation Library, 13 (Amsterdam and Paris: John Benjamins Publishing Company, UNESCO Publishing, 1995); *Translation and the Transmission of Culture Between 1300 and 1600*, ed. Jeanette Beer and Kenneth Lloyd-Jones. Studies in Medieval Culture, XXXV (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995); Jaime Goodrich, *Faithful Translators: Authorship, Gender, and Religion in*

Bi- or multilingualism was also of major concern in raising children already in the Middle Ages, with both mother and father separately involved in that process. Especially children in high-ranking noble families, that is, those who were supposed to assume a throne or a rulership upon reaching adulthood, were regularly required to learn the various languages spoken by their subjects.[45] Similarly, when the two marriage partners—normally among the aristocracy—originated from two different languages, they were forced to learn the other one, which normally implied that the wife was required to go through this learning process. When the white colonialists arrived in the New World since the sixteenth century, they also had to realize that the indigenous populations spoke in many different languages—a serious problem that had to be tackled and ultimately to be overcome at any case. But the same situation ruled in the Crusader States in the Holy Land until 1291. As Mondschein hence clearly demonstrates on a very large base of specific cases, multilingualism in the Middle Ages was of extreme importance, pursued from many different angles, even if it was at times also attacked for political reasons. Simply put, we would not be able to understand the medieval world if we ignored this widespread phenomenon of multilingualism in virtually all societies.

From here on the contributors offer more specialized investigations of specific phenomena pertaining, for instance, to the biglossic situation in Cantabria (Spain) during late antiquity, which is the topic of Gregory B. Kaplan's contribution. Latin as a language arrived in the northern part of the Iberian Peninsula already in the third century B.C.E., but the Roman conquest was not completed until 29 – 19 B.C.E., and the colonizers did not establish any significant settlements in that region for quite some time. It took until the end of the first century C.E. for Latin to replace the indigenous languages, but ancient Cantabrian continued to survive until the Middle Ages and apparently exerted some influence on Latin, as toponyms and inscriptions confirm, especially in the southern part of Cantabria. The explanation for this phenomenon appears to be, as Kaplan suggests, that bilingualism continued for a long time, perhaps similar to Anglo-Saxon in England after the conquest in 1066.

Commerce between the native population and the Roman legionaries seems to have been one of the critical channels that made the linguistic exchange pos-

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Early Modern England (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2014); *Translators, Interpreters and Cultural Negotiators: Mediating and Communicating Power from the Middle Ages to the Modern Era*, ed. ed. by Federico M. Federici and Dario Tessicini (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

45 Reinhard Schneider, *Vom Dolmetschen im Mittelalter* (see note 24), 51 – 77.

sible. Tribal names also indicate a specific form of influence on Latin, while Cantabrian and early Proto-Basque also borrowed from each other, even if only in certain sound patterns. Kaplan assembles enough evidence to support the claim that indigenous Cantabrian existed side by side with Latin and that hence the majority of the population might have been biglossic, that is, much more fluent simultaneously in both languages than in a diglossic situation, which would have been much more hierarchical. One of the reasons for this condition seems to have been the low level of urbanization in that region, hence a lower degree of Romanization even in deep structures. But Kaplan also alerts us to the fact that diglossia could also exist, especially along the coastal stretch where the Romans operated mines with the help of the Cantabrian population, which thus created a social and hence a linguistic stratification of a different kind than further inland. However, in the course of time diglossia gave way to a much more fully developed biglossia.

Following the lead of other scholars, Kaplan finally points out striking parallels between the situation in ancient Cantabria (both bi- and diglossia depending on the specific areas) and Paraguay after the Spanish colonization where Guaraní retained its status as a biglossic language far into the late twentieth century (1991) because Spanish culture did not develop strongly there due to the absence of economic resources which made that part of South America unattractive to the colonizers. Of course, Guaraní gained the status of a national language by then, whereas in antiquity Cantabrian ultimately disappeared altogether. This study thus nicely serves us to underscore how much investigations of pre-modern linguistic conditions can shed important light on the post-medieval world. The struggle among languages thus proves to be an ongoing process and obviously applies to all human existence, as the almost infinite number of dialects all over the world confirms. Those have a long pedigree extending back to very distinct languages, all part of an organic entity called human existence. We speak what we are and we are what we speak, but many times there are multiple interconnections, interlacing, intertwining, exchanges, merging, and mixing.

As we observe throughout this volume, multilingualism—and many variants thereof, as Kaplan explains in his contribution—always emerges in contact zones where various cultures, peoples, and hence languages either clashed or combined, or competed with and against each other. Diane Auslander studies the difficult situation in Ireland after the Cambro-Norman invasion (1169–1171), which could almost be compared to the colonization of India by the British in the nineteenth century, especially with regard to the linguistic situation there. Prior to that invasion the Irish language had been highly developed by the class

of learned individuals, though they had adopted the Latin alphabet. At the same time the Viking attacks and settlements had introduced a Scandinavian mix, and once the invasion by the English started, several other languages entered Ireland, including Anglo-Norman, Welsh, Flemish, and English, creating fundamental conflicts and strife among the various groups of people. Auslander also notes that the establishment of towns was an innovation brought by the invaders, and both aspects, the source of many tensions in Ireland, found powerful expression in the poem "The Walling of New Ross," written in 1265.

The invading force was actually brought in by Diarmait Mac Murchada, King of the province of Leinster, who needed outside help to maintain his position, and many of those English (Welsh) lords were of a rather mixed identity themselves, trying to demonstrate publicly their 'unambivalent' Anglo-Norman background. King Henry II soon followed the invading army and ensured that he took control of his army and the barons who then swore loyalty to him. He also got many Irish kings to give their oaths to him, who took the title of 'Lord of Ireland,' but that was a very unreliable agreement, and it took hundreds of years for the English to control Ireland altogether. But the key point for Auslander's argument is that this invasion and conquest brought a variety of languages to Ireland and created a linguistically rather mixed situation, although Irish continued to hold sway in the lower segments of the local society.

Nevertheless, we have only few literary texts in other languages, such as "The Walling of New Ross," composed in Hiberno-French. The Normans, however, deliberately strove to cast the Irish population as barbaric and uncultured, while a strong influx of English merchants, artisans, clerics, and others to the newly erected towns created further ethnic and linguistic barriers. But then New Ross experienced a number of economic and political difficulties, often brought about by the meddling of King Henry III in the Irish political landscape, which further explains the creation of the poem which reflects many of those tensions, including those between the Irish and the English, or the downtrodden indigenous population and the colonizers. Ironically, the poem was composed in Anglo-Norman, hence a form of French, but most citizens of that town would not have understood that language.

Auslander suggests that the majority of the ordinary townspeople were full of pretension and aspired for being accepted as well as members of the elite class, so they appreciated the French poem, even though they probably did not recognize the subtle irony embedded in the text ridiculing the very audience that might have commissioned the text. But this poem and all the public pomp in the guise of chivalry conveyed to them a sense of superiority, especially against the Irish living outside the city wall.

Significantly, the following centuries saw the revival of Irish power, language, culture, and identity, while the English citizens of the towns faced a considerable decline of their own social and economic status. Nevertheless, as Auslander emphasizes, it was the impact of the towns which helped to stabilize the role of the English language as the *lingua franca* in the long run, while in the countryside even the Norman nobles rapidly adapted the Irish culture and even language. The entire situation in Ireland during the twelfth through thirteenth centuries confirms once again that already in the high Middle Ages language and 'national' identity went hand in hand.

Multilingualism is not only a mechanical command of several languages, but it also reflects the complex use of languages for a particular purpose, as Charles W. Connell illustrates with the case of the famous abbess/mystic/teacher/scholar Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) who developed a wide range of linguistic registers to communicate with her community of nuns, her social context, and, above all, with God Himself. Her prophetic visions demanded from her to translate her revelations into ordinary, that is, still Latin, language since those could not be communicated in a human way. Even though other intellectuals and theologians of her time had raised their voice like Hildegard in order to preach for reform within the Church, and especially in the monasteries, she was a rather lonely and yet most powerful woman to serve as God's mouthpiece here on earth.

Connell emphasizes that Hildegard pursued a variety of tasks when she spoke up in public, and for each task she resorted, as we may say, to a different mode of speech, or language. Most significantly, she projected women in very strong positions and virtually created a shift in gender roles, as she herself assumed, contrary to all traditions and norms upheld by the Church, the position of a preacher and teacher. But this was only possible because of her specific topics—preaching against the Cathars and criticizing the clergy, calling for internal reforms—and because of her own charisma, which allowed her to assume a second voice, beyond that of her biographical self.

Considering the great emphasis on her freedom to have various voices speak through her in order to preach and to reach out to the Godhead, and then to communicate His messages to the people, it comes as no surprise that Hildegard also developed her own secret language, published in the *Lingua ignota*, which was hardly known even at her own time, perhaps because she understood the dangers involved in creating such new words that could undermine her position as authority figure and preacher. As Connell argues, here we probably encounter a mystical form of multilingualism since that invented language intriguingly served Hildegard to capture in the deepest sense the divine message and to

translate it even into the ordinary realm of human lives, now, however, formulated in a language that no ordinary person apart from her nuns knew about or could use.

Hildegard thus had three languages at her disposal: her vernacular Middle High German, Latin, and her secret language. The latter supported her quest to establish her own charisma, which ultimately granted her the authority to speak with and about God. Mysticism thus emerges, globally speaking, not only as a spiritual phenomenon, but also as a linguistic one because the use of multilingualism empowered the mystic far beyond the ordinary realm within her human society.

To identify the meaning of a language is tantamount to identify a people, a culture, and a region or a land. A language, however, is not innate to a specific group; rather, all languages are also subject to historical, political, and religious/cultural change. Yasmine Beale-Rivaya here illustrates this curious but very significant phenomenon through a close study of the language of the Mozarabs, *Mozarabic*, or, perhaps more precisely, *Andalusí-Romance*, as it was spoken by the Arabic population in the Iberian Peninsula under Christian rule. While linguists have argued rather rigidly over the differences between *Mozarabic* spoken in Toledo (the language by the Arabized Christians in medieval Iberia) versus Arabic spoken in Huesca (the language by the Arabs living in Christian lands), for instance, Beale-Rivaya suggests, however, that this linguistic, cultural, and ethnic distinction is rather the result of modern scholarly projections of a binary opposition, a construction based on too narrow readings of the relevant documents.

The major documents for Mozarabic are either in Arabic or in Romance, which already indicates the critical problem we are facing with respect to various language sub-groups within Iberian Spain during the Middle Ages. Identifying the Mozarabs exclusively with their Romance language simply ignores the strong Arabic component in their culture. For that reason, Beale-Rivaya, following previous scholars, proposes the rather appropriate term *Romanceandalusí* in order to reflect the much more linguistically complex situation within that social group. Mozarabs seem to have relied either on Arabic or on their Romance language depending on the daily-life situation. Thus they operated within a multilingual context and were competent in more than one language because of the contact zone they lived in. In other words, here we do not face a classical diglossia, since the individual language choice was rather determined by numerous political, economic, and religious factors.

As the production of *jarchas* for private consumption indicates, Romanceandalusí was the preferred language at home, or in a cultural setting, whereas the

use of classic Arabic was reserved for legal and political documents and public discussions. Moreover, a dialect version of Arabic was also current when formal expressions and rhetoric were not required. Not surprisingly, there was, furthermore a steady process of borrowing words from one language to the other. Sometimes specific Arabic phrases were used in the Romance context, and sometimes the opposite was the case. In Al-Andalus, the parallel languages found employment at different times depending on the specific situation, so they were not subject to a rigid hierarchical system. The same appears to have been the case further north, in Toledo and Huesca, and elsewhere, with the various languages interlacing each other, which resulted, as Beale-Rivaya calls it, in the formation of "pluri-cultural and pluri-lingual communities of these cities." This phenomenon, however, was not a matter of political enforcement, but rather the fruit of personal choice, convenience, and common usage.

One of the most interesting case studies of a multilingual society in the Middle Ages proves to be England because of the curious situation with the ancient Celtic culture somewhere remaining in the linguistic underground, with Middle English, which had grown out of Anglo-Saxon, spoken by the majority of the ordinary people far into the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with Anglo-Norman (here: 'French') spoken by the elite since the conquest by Duke William in 1066 and well into the fifteenth century, and with Latin spoken by the members of the clergy and the intellectuals. Multilingualism was hence the *modus operandi* for many people in the British Isles, somewhat comparable to Ireland, as Diane Auslander alerts us in her contribution. But when did this complex mix change, as it certainly did? What social groups were more closely attached with what language, and when did they abandon that usage in favor of another? Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, for instance, now remarks insightfully:

> as scholarship moves away from the teleological model of language as a unitary entity bound into the development of the nation state, French often needs to be considered within a multilingual linguistic ecology …. French is an intimate partner and sometimes rival or accessory to Latin—which, as Christopher Cannon has shown, needs to be considered in more "vernacular" functions than hitherto—and French increasingly affects perceptions of insular language and literature in England.[46]

These are the kinds of questions and issued pursued by Richard Ingham and Imogen Marcus in their contribution to this volume. They emphasize unequivocally

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[46] Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "'Invisible Archives?' Later Medieval French in England," *Speculum* 90.3 (2015): 653–700; here 655.

that the older notion of Anglo-Norman no longer being a standard language commonly practiced by the upper social class after ca. 1250 has to be dismissed by now. Considerable variances entered this insular French, but it would be inaccurate to talk about 'language corruption' since a good number of professional groups commonly used that form of French in their ordinary communications well into the late Middle Ages, increasingly replacing Latin with that vernacular, which differed, however, quite noticeably from the standard continental French and ought to be identified as an independent insular variety. As the documents from this mid-level group of late medieval English society confirm, multilingualism was much more the norm than the exception, especially because French was so often used among the professionals in trade, business, administration, law, architecture, and merchants, that is, among members of the various guilds in their regular written (and to some extent also oral) exchanges.

Ingham's and Marcus's evidence comes, for instance, from the world of law, where Anglo-Norman increasingly dominated, gaining full recognition as the standard language in the written documents. Commissioners of Peace, while not required to have a legal training, certainly resorted to French for their official correspondence. Many different types of governmental administrators wrote in French as well, and so did medical practitioners, architects, manorial administrators such as stewards, bailiffs, and reeves. Although it is very difficult to retrace oral language, there are clear indicators in the written records of many different kinds that signal a certain degree of bilingualism (French and English) well into the fifteenth century. Ingham and Marcus point out the great variety in English dialects, which made it more practical for those professionals to resort to a rather standardized language, French, even at such a late point in time. Transactions in trade and business often relied on French, instead of English and Latin, even though those two languages were certainly present and entirely available at the same time.

As we have noted already above, primarily in cultural contact zones did the peculiar situation emerge that a larger number of individuals acquired the ability to communicate in more than one language. This was the case also in the Holy Land after the Latin Kingdoms had been established there and after new generations of people had grown up there having been born in that part of the world where numerous languages were practiced side by side, as K. A. Tuley informs us in her contribution. Even though the relevant sources commonly do not talk much about translators ("dragomans") or about high-ranking individuals who were competent in various languages, when we comb a larger variety of those sources a most fascinating picture about multilingual speakers emerges.

The Crusaders at first brought their own translators with them, who were essential in helping setting up the logistical framework necessary for the successful war campaign. Some of those had been recruited from the aristocratic Norman population in southern Italy and Sicily where Arabic, Latin, Italian, Greek, and Norman were commonly spoken. In fact, as Tuley underscores, particularly in the Frankish Levant people from many different origins, ethnic background, and hence also from many diverse language groups came together (such as Turkish), and the Crusaders were able to rely on this pool in more than one occasion.

The sources provide some specific hints, but much needs to be gleaned from them indirectly. After all, the Franks soon settled and started to engage constructively with the local Muslim lords, which constantly required interpreters. As soon as the Latin Kingdoms had been established, polyglots among them grew up and became crucially important in the diplomatic affairs, having learned a foreign language either as part of their own training or as part of their personal upbringing. Tuley underlines that this led to the growth of a new Levantine identity among the Christian settlers there, who turned, as some critics argued (Fulcher of Chartres), into multicultural and hence multilingual individuals.

In the course of time an increasing number of Arab-speaking Christians became known, but other languages were also in use at many different places. Most important, however, in the course of time Frank nobles appear in the documents who were apparently at least bilingual and served in highly important political and diplomatic functions. The same phenomenon can be observed on the Arab side where polyglots assumed significant roles under Saladin, for instance. Later, many of those multilingual speakers began to take on the negotiations themselves, instead of being 'mere' translators. Others operated as highly respected scribes of important political and legal documents, and this on both sides of the military spectrum.

As Tuley concludes, when the Crusaders arrived in the Holy Land, they encountered a multilingual society. Once they were settled and firmly established, many of them adapted to this polyglot condition and turned into multilingual speakers themselves. Ironically, however, in the long run this did not secure a stable situation for the Latins, and with the fall of Acre in 1291 a new stage in the history of multilingualism had been reached, but this is then no longer Tuley's topic. We could, however, draw on her study as a model for many other events in world history where a colonizing force, such as the Spaniards or the Jesuits in the New World, soon adapts to the local conditions and acquires the respective language skills. We will see, however, in the case discussed by Kimberly A. Eherenman that this was not a guarantee for the development of a harmonious relationship.

Susanna Niiranen explores a different situation, working with documents from medieval apothecaries and spice sellers operating in the Provence and Languedoc in southern France where there were many opportunities to get into contact with other cultures, especially Arabic and Jewish, both locally and in the Iberian Peninsula. Pharmacists, as we would call the members of that profession today, were particularly exposed to a range of languages since they worked with written sources in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, and at the same time operated in a variety of linguistic contexts when collecting their plants or minerals as ingredients for medications and when they treated their cosmopolitan clientele.

Until the fifteenth century most practitioners were not university trained and derived much of their information from hands-on experience, but they were not necessarily unable to read Latin either. The region around Montpellier has been a center of medical research both at the university and on the ground, and the local apothecaries and spice-sellers were in constant contact with customers and suppliers who spoke many different languages (Languedoc, Hebrew, Catalan, Italian, Latin, French, etc.).

As Niiranen points out, after the eleventh century the Muslim stranglehold had been lifted in the western Mediterranean, which opened up countless new trade routes and made possible commercial contacts, from which the health practitioners profited as well. From 1217 onwards the Beaucaire faire, for instance became the focal point of commercial exchanges, which brought together countless vendors and sellers, many of them multilingual. The role of and impact by Jewish medical doctors on the societies they lived in were considerable, despite pogroms that later broke out in the wake of the Plague. Similarly, we have to account for the strong influence of Arabic medical knowledge on the western world through a variety of channels. Moreover the presence of the papacy in Avignon from 1309 to 1378, where Latin and Italian were the dominant languages, also has to be taken into consideration concerning the work of and the writing by the members of the medical profession.

Most importantly, the pepperer, spice-seller, or other types of apothecaries worked on the ground, in close conjunction with other members of their profession, traded recipes and medicine, and thus had to be multilingual at least in basic terms. Even women were quite heavily involved in this trade and occupation. The surviving recipe books contain numerous examples of code-switching, which reflect, in turn, a considerable degree of bi- und multilingualism in that region, and especially among members of that profession, that is, involving mostly Latin and Occitan, but some Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic in the background as well. Charms, amulets, and magical phrases regularly operated with multiple language phrases, and this might be, until today, one of their major

characteristics, if we think of linguistic charms commonly used even in the post-modern world.[47]

Altogether, Niiranen's investigations uncover a most prolific scenario of multilingualism and code-switching in that part of the western Mediterranean where many cultures and languages came together and interacted rather productively, as the rich evidence of pharmaceutical recipe books powerfully indicates.

As we noted already above, the phenomenon of the Pentecost proved to be an astounding miracle for all Christians, and hence was discussed numerous times also in the Middle Ages.[48] Christine Cooper-Rompato offers a close reading of later medieval English sermons in which the authors often reflected on the Pentecost and underscored its importance as a direct sign of God's grace bestowed upon the Apostles. In that process, they also addressed a wide variety of related topics, including the nature of all languages, the relationship between English and other languages, then the way how individuals perceive words, hence also sermons, and finally the danger resulting from the use of bad words or cuss words used in one's own speech. Cooper-Rompato calls this phenomenon 'xenoglossia,' because those sermon authors were not concerned with any unnatural, non-human language, but with normal, human languages, and thus indicated their awareness of human existence commonly determined by multilingual aspects. The priests considered themselves as conveyers of the divine message through which their audience was hopefully empowered to return to God via the gift of the tongue/s, which thus reversed the Tower of Babel syndrome from which humankind is suffering until today. In this process many authors engaged in complex etymological speculations about the term 'Pentecost,' but more commonly about the term 'Whitsunday,' which reveal a considerable degree of sensitivity regarding the nature and practice of all languages and hence the existence of countless human languages.

Even lay individuals, such as Margery Kempe, referred to the miracle of the Pentecost as it occurred to her while traveling to the Holy Land and spending time in the German town of Constance. Kempe had to cope with German and was graced with a Pentecostal experience allowing her to overcome the linguistic

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47 Albrecht Classen, "Zaubersprüche, Beschwörungen und andere Formen des 'Aberglaubens.' Kulturhistorische Betrachtungen für den Literatur- und Sprachunterricht," *Unterrichtspraxis* 29.2 (1996): 231–39; Wolfgang Ernst, *Beschwörungen und Segen: Angewandte Psychotherapie im Mittelalter* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2011); *The Power of Words: Studies on Charms and Charming in Europe*, ed. James Kapaló, Éva Pócs, and William Ryan (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013).
48 Christine Cooper-Rompato, *The Gift of Tongues*, 2010 (see note 10).

difference between herself and a local priest. After all, the events that had occurred on Pentecost were too important to ignore by any spiritual or mystical writer in the Middle Ages. Some sermon authors even ventured into linguistic theories about the core commonalities of all languages, revealing thereby how much they were already familiar with some of the standard languages spoken in Europe, including French and Latin.

As we can also recognize from some of the sermons, the authors were quite well informed about different and even exotic languages spoken in Europe and elsewhere, but they hoped that the Pentecostal miracle could overcome all incomprehensibility and unite people under the one and only, Christian, God. There are even references to Hungarian, Sardinian, and Breton, and to the various dialects spoken in France and Italy. William Langland in his *Piers Plowman*, though not a sermon author per se, but writing parallel to the genre of sermon literature, even went so far as to imagine that the descent of the Holy Spirit, possible for any faithful person, would overcome all language barriers and recreate the time prior to the Tower of Babel. Of course, he was only one of countless other theological authors throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern age to reflect on the Pentecost miracle.[49] Moreover, Cooper-Rompato points out a similar comment in Margery Kempe's *Book*, which suggests how much the desire for spiritually-based multilingualism, or xenoglossia, transpired in many late-medieval clerical and lay texts.

Multilingual phenomena can also be observed in folkloric ballad poetry in late medieval England, as Michael Ingham discusses in his contribution. Ballads and similar types of poetry often reflect the oral background and origin, and thus indicate the various levels of language levels used in speech acts, including lyrical presentations.[50] Ballads have a long tradition and spread throughout medieval Europe, influencing each other and sharing the same basic interest in telling a story in poetic-musical form which hence allowed the audience to dance along during the performance. Particularly the ancient Breton songs or *lais*, as Marie de France was going to call her renditions by the end of the twelfth century, had a strong impact both on the Anglo-Norman culture and France. Curi-

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49 Mark J Cartledge, *Encountering the Spirit: The Charismatic Tradition* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2006); see also a good collection of relevant quotes regarding the meaning of the Pentecost at: http://www.calledtocommunion.com/2010/05/pentecost-babel-and-the-ecumenical-imperative/

50 For the most important lyrical anthology, see *The Complete Harley 2253 Manuscript*, ed. and trans. by Susanna Fein with David Raybin and Jan Ziolkowski. 3 vols. Middle English Text Series (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2014).

ously, however, many of the ballads composed in England tended to idealize the yeoman over the members of the aristocratic courts. Overall, Ingham emphasizes that the English ballads tended to present much more brutal narrative elements compared to those ballads from the Continent. Nevertheless, as he also insists, there were clear lines of reception from French *chanson d'aventure* and *pastourelle* to late medieval English ballads and other folkloric poetry, although it would be difficult to trace the specific channels how that process happened, unless we assume the very likely existence of multilingual bards and performers.

Good examples prove to be John Gower and Geoffrey Chaucer, as the former imported the French style *balade* resorting to Anglo-Norman, and the latter resorting to Middle English. But, as Ingham recognizes, many of the known late medieval English ballads had strong roots in pan-European courtly literature, dedicated both to the theme of love and the theme of warfare (*chanson de geste*). In fact, lyrical texts appear to have migrated across Europe and were translated into a variety of languages. In England, many of the surviving ballads have been preserved in Middle English, Latin, and Anglo-Norman, reflecting the rich trilingual, that is, multilingual situation during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Despite the rise of a sense of national belonging, in linguistic terms England continued, as far as the evidence of the ballads can tell us, to be a culturally very diverse country, both receiving and giving to other cultures on the Continent. Late medieval folk ballads hence reflected a remarkably open-minded and linguistically fluid situation all over Western Europe defying the attempts by nineteenth- and twentieth-century folklorists to perceive a certain nationalist tendency in the composition of this kind of song-poetry.

Parallel to Ken Mondschein in his article, I myself examine here at first the wide gamut of multilingual phenomena in the Middle Ages and try to establish thereby how much the problem of miscommunication or, by the same token, the ability by people to communicate with each other in the pre-modern world was quite parallel to the situation today. While Latin was the *lingua franca* then, English seems to take over that same function, now even globally. But the extent to which some Europeans traveled even to Japan and China as early as in the thirteenth century, continues to impress us until today.[51]

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[51] I have discussed some of those subsequent intercultural encounters already in *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 14 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013). The relevant research literature is dealt with there extensively.

Contrary to many modern assumptions, people in the pre-modern age were already traveling heavily, whether as merchants, diplomats, artists, pilgrims, or scholars.[52] This required an intensive investment in foreign languages, either through a self-study or by means of hiring translators and guides. We have available plenty of pilgrimage accounts in which the issue of bi- and multilingualism are deliberately and meticulously discussed; therefore the focus here rests on the one produced by the Augsburg traveler Felix Fabri (1437/1438 – 1502). He traveled to the Holy Land twice, first in 1480, and then from 1483 to 1484. His extensive account about his experiences is valuable for many different reasons, but in our context it deserves particular mention that he reflected most explicitly on the linguistic challenges which an ordinary European pilgrim faced in Egypt, the Holy Land, and in the neighboring countries. Fabri hired, of course, a translator, with whom he communicated in Italian, and perhaps some Latin, so the two men met linguistically in a third space and could thus talk with each other. Multilingual speakers tend to encounter and engage with other individuals equally competent in various languages, and this was the situation in Egypt and the Holy Land as well. But even Fabri faced difficulties, especially because the Holy Land attracted so many people speaking so many different languages. In other words, his pilgrimage account proves to be extraordinarily rich in terms of its information about multilingual situations in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Most interestingly, a contemporary of Felix Fabri, the Cologne knight and pilgrim Arnold von Harff (1471 – 1505) went one step further and produced, as part of his extensive religious account, detailed lists of relevant phrases in the major languages which he encountered during his travel. Those lists, however, did not only pertain to ordinary living situations during the travel and religious practices, but also regularly the question addressed to a prostitute regarding her price for a night with her. Pilgrimage and tourism obviously began to intertwine in the late Middle Ages, and this increasingly required that the masses of travelers were also in ever greater need to communicate with the foreign world. The most educated among them, such as Fabri and von Harff, proved to be extraordinary multilingualists, and they coped so well because they encountered equally sophisticated multilingual speakers on the other side.

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52 *Unterwegs im Namen der Religion: Pilgern als Form von Kontingenzbewältigung und Zukunftssicherung in den Weltreligionen*, ed. Klaus Herbers and Hans Christian Lehner. Beiträge zur Hagiographie, 15 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 2014); Albrecht Classen, "Roads, Streets, Bridges, and Travelers" (1511 – 34); Romedio Schmitz-Esser, "Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages," *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen, vol. 3 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 1680 – 1704.

More often than we might have assumed, medieval preachers carried out code-switching (from Latin to a vernacular and vice-versa) when they delivered their sermons, as we can recognize through a close analysis of written testimonies, such as the late medieval English sermons contained in Oxford, MS Bodley 649, the topic of Helena Halmari's and Timothy Regetz's study in the present volume. Throughout the entire Middle Ages speakers and writers fairly frequently allowed their mother tongue to come through when they were writing in Latin, such as in the famous *Carmina Burana* (early thirteenth century). This was the case as well in fifteenth-century England, as these sermons in MS Bodley 649 illustrate, which strongly suggests a high degree of bilingualism. Modern scholarship has tended to view such code-switching, particularly within the realm of Latin literature and texts, with considerable suspicion, perhaps because it was too much influenced by modern-day concerns about the decline of standard languages in face of massive immigrations and hence strong mixing of cultures, languages, religions, and ideologies. But from a linguistic point of view these sermons prove to be fascinating documents about the actual linguistic conditions in fifteenth-century England. Sometimes those code-switches are announced explicitly, but mostly they appear suddenly without any preparation for the listener/reader. Even though previous scholars such as Siegfried Wenzel tended to assume that such forms of bilingualism occurred rather randomly and without any visible motivation, Halmari and Regetz now suggest that the desire for rhetorical effectiveness might have been a driving force behind this phenomenon.

And indeed, their statistical and rhetorical analysis can uncover a specific endeavor by the sermonist to utilize both languages within the same text or speech in order to arrive at alliteration. Alliteration occurs, of course, also within Latin only, but code-switching appears to have served the author well to heighten the effect of both rhetorical devices (code-switching and alliteration) for his hortative purposes. The author was obviously well aware about the effect which this stylistic playfulness might have and did not shy away from employing this linguistic strategy quite commonly, though it still seems rather an act of randomness when the code-switching occurs. But the ability to express himself in both languages virtually at the same time considerably added to the sermonist's authority and to the effectiveness of the texts. These fascinating examples might have to be studied also in light of later phenomena, if we think, for instance, of Martin Luther's famous *Tischgespräche* (Table Talks), compiled by Johannes Mathesius and published at Eisleben in 1566, in which he freely and constantly switched from German to Latin and back again, though it would be rather doubt-

ful that he then pursued specific rhetorical intentions.[53] Luther was simply bilingual in German and Latin, and many other theologians of his time could claim the same, and many of them were also fluent in Greek and Hebrew, but this really moves us then into the world of Humanism and the Protestant Reformation.

With the paper by Kimberly A. Eherenman on Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499 – 1590), who traveled with a group of Franciscan friars to the New World and became deeply involved in the local conversion with the Nahua Indians by way of acquiring much admired fluency in their language, we are moving from the Middle Ages to the early modern world, but the issues at stake concerning multilingualism remain the same. For the second wave of Franciscans (1529), the first great successes in converting the native population (since 1524) quickly proved to have been an utter failure because the Indians had, as they saw it, only pretended to have accepted the Christian faith. They were all, so the firm opinion went, become complete victims of the devil, which required rigorous measures and even the help of the Inquisition to eradicate the pagan religion. Sahagún compiled and wrote several important texts in Nahuatl and also served as interpreter for the Inquisition.

Sahagún describes in his voluminous *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*, begun in 1547 and which appeared in 1585 in its revised version, many aspects of the conquest of the New World through the Spaniards and provides a most detailed anthropological description of the Nahua culture, ideology, cosmology, and also language.[54] He gained his in-depth knowledge from personal conversations with numerous elders, and he utilized his own students from the Colegio de Santa Cruz, who were trilingual speakers—Nahuatl, Spanish, and Latin—to collect more data for his encyclopedic work, which was hotly contested by his fellow friars and the authorities both in Mexico and Spain, but

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53 Birgit Stolt, *Die Sprachmischung in Luthers Tischreden: Studien zum Problem d. Zweisprachigkeit*. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: Stockholmer germanistische Forschungen, 4 (Stockholm, Göteborg, and Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1964); *Martin Luthers Tischreden: Neuansätze der Forschung*, ed. Katharina Bärenfänger, Volker Leppin, and Stefan Michel. Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation = Studies in the Late Middle Ages, Humanism and the Reformation, 71 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

54 F. Vicente Castro and J. L. Rodríguez Molinero, *Bernardino de Sahagún: primer antropólogo en Nueva España (siglo XVI)*. Acta Salmanticensia. Filosofía y letras, 181 (Salamanca, España: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca: Institución "Fray Bernardino de Sahagún": Excma. Diputación Provincial de León [C.S.I.C.], 1986); Miguel León-Portilla, *Bernardino de Sahagún: pionero de la antropología*. Serie de cultura náhuatl. Monografías, 24 (México, DF: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1999).

which proves today to be one of the most important eye-witness accounts and highly insightful sources of the Nahua culture.

While other theologians rather pursued a hierarchical model, believing in divine grace that would bestow itself on the indigenous people and thus rescue them from the devil, Sahagún preferred a methodological approach, like a good physician, first understanding the etiology of the sickness before applying any medicine. For that reason he dedicated so much energy and time on learning even the minutiae of the Nahuatl language and the Nahua culture and belief system.

Ironically, if not rather tragically, his stupendous knowledge of the Nahuatl language did not make him into a sympathizer, but, on the contrary, their most dangerous opponent since he believed to have detected the worst working of the devil in the efforts by the indigenous to hide their own faith behind the screen of Christian rituals and practices. As Eherenman observes, despite his extraordinary, if not stupendous, comprehension of Nahuatl, Sahagún still failed in many respects to grasp the full meaning of their words, concepts, and hence of their religion, as he committed numerous errors in relating specific concepts in the Nahua culture to western European concepts, confusing the Nahua gods with the gods of Roman antiquity. As much as he endeavored to translate the Christian faith and corresponding terms into Nahuatl and vice versa, the semantic differences proved to be insurmountable, which he could not, however, fully understand.

Multilingualism here reached, almost as in the case of Gottfried von Straßburg's Tristan in his eponymous romance (ca. 1210), its limits because a mechanical translation from one language to another ultimately is almost always bound to fail when the deeper meaning is not rendered appropriately into the other language. For instance, Eherenman points out that the Christian idea of good versus evil, or God versus the devil, cannot be translated into Nahuatl because a god could be both at the same time. The Christian dualism simply did not fit into Nahua monoism, and the best translator, what Sahagún certainly was, was thus bound to fail after all because he approached his task with a colonialist, if not imperialist mind, entirely driven by his own religious agenda. Tragically, the Nahuas themselves, and probably with good reasons, hence regarded the Christian friars as horrible demons who were intent on destroying all what they considered as good and holy.

Knowledge of more than one language has always been regarded as a blessing and a privilege, but the case of Sahagún and his fellow friars also illustrates that there are more than linguistic barriers when one tries to translate from one language to another—certainly an issue which was fundamental in Martin Luther's Bible translation project (September Testament 1522, Old Testament

1534).[55] Even though ultimately Christianity and the Spanish colonization efforts triumphed, the cost for the Nahuas was terrifying, with millions of them succumbing to European epidemics, exploitation, and slavery. Even though these Franciscan missionaries had arrived with much hope, idealism, and a sense of utopianism, and even though they threw all their energy behind the study of the Nahuatl language, the end result was nothing but a human tragedy, if not a genocide, among the Nahuas.[56]

Every great cultural reform movement or renaissance has gone hand in hand with a strong revival of language studies, as we know from the various 'Renaissances' in the western world. We need only to think of the Carolingian Renaissance, the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, the Italian Renaissance, the period of the Protestant Reformation, the American Renaissance, etc. Realizing the intellectual power which one could acquire by studying a foreign language, the intellectuals throughout time have regularly pushed hard in this regard aiming for some kind of bi- or even multilingualism, and once critical mass was achieved at least among the elite, a new cultural paradigm came into existence. The rise of Humanism, for instance, was intimately associated with the renewed in-

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55 Hermann Gelhaus, *Der Streit um Luthers Bibelverdeutschung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Mit der Identifizierung Friedrich Traubs.* Reihe Germanistische Linguistik, 89 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1989); See also the contributions to *"Was Dolmetschen für Kunst und Arbeit sei": Die Lutherbibel und andere deutsche Bibelübersetzungen. Beiträge der Rostocker Konferenz 2013*, ed. Melanie Lange and Martin Rösel (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, and Leipzig: Evangelische Verlags-Anstalt, 2014); *Denn wir haben Deutsch: Luthers Sprache aus dem Geist der Übersetzung*, ed. Marie Luise Knott, Thomas Brovot, and Ulrich Blumenbach (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2015). See also the excellent website with good links for original documents and a helpful bibliography at: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lutherbibel#.C3.9Cbersetzung_des_Alten_Testa ments (last accessed on Oct. 1, 2015). The issue at stake both in the work by Luther and his colleagues and in the world of Sahagún continues to be of greatest relevance today, if we think, for instance, of political treatises. See the contributions to *Gutes Übersetzen: neue Perspektiven für Theorie und Praxis des Literaturübersetzens*, ed. Albrecht Buschmann (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015). The literature on translation problems is legion; see, for instance, María T. Sánchez, *The Problems of Literary Translation: A Study of the Theory and Practice of* Translation from English into Spanish. Hispanic Studies, 18 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009).
56 Victoria Ríos Castaño, *Translation as Conquest: Sahagún and Universal history of the Things of New Spain.* Parecos y australes: ensayos de cultura de la colonia, 13 (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt a. M.: Vervuert, 2014); *Manuscript Cultures of Colonial Mexico and Peru: New Qestions and Approaches*, ed. Thomas B. F. Cummins, Emily A. Engel, Barbara Anderson, and Juan M. Ossio Acuña. Issues & Debates (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2014); Mariana C. Zinni, *Mimesis, hermeneusis y narración en Fray Bernardino de Sahagun.* Scripta Humanistica, 174 (Potomac, MD: Scripta Humanistica, 2014).

terest in classical Latin and Greek, which in turn made possible the development of the Protestant movement. Many of the best known scholars, theologians, and physicians even translated their own names drawing on those two languages from antiquity which they admired full-heartedly. Tom Willard, in the last contribution to our volume, points, for instance, to Philipp Melanchthon and Paracelsus.

Paracelsus (1493–1541) was (in)famous, hated, and admired, and represents, to this day, an almost quixotic character because he drew heavily both from medieval concepts and ideas and also from antiquity, without disregarding his own scientific experiments.[57] Throughout his rich œuvre he commonly resorted not only to Latin, Greek, and Hebrew terms and phrases, but he also developed his own fanciful language in order to enhance his reputation as a scholar and charismatic person. In the larger framework of our collective effort in the present book, we might even want to go so far as to draw some analogies with Hildegard von Bingen and her invented language,[58] since both individuals struggled hard to achieve a higher level of spiritual and/or scientific epistemology. However, while Hildegard was religiously driven to turn to multilingualism, Paracelsus aimed for recognition as a medical doctor and researcher.

But Paracelsus did not only draw inspiration from learned sources; instead he also turned to contemporary alchemists, hangmen, alleged witches, peasants, and other individuals on the margin of society whom he trusted as graced with spiritual or occult knowledge. Willard does not linger on Paracelus, but focuses on the efforts of later scholars who worked as editors and translators of Paracelsus's works. For example, Michael Toxites (1514–1581) compiled a lexicon of Par-

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57 The literature on Paracelsus is legion, but see now the contributions to *Paracelsus im Kontext der Wissenschaften seiner Zeit: Kultur- und Mentalitätsgeschichtliche Annäherungen*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Theophratus Paracelsus Studien, 2 (Berlin and New York: Walther de Gruyter, 2010); *Religion und Gesundheit in der Frühen Neuzeit: Der heilkundliche Diskurs im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien, 3 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011); and *Gutes Leben und guter Tod von der Spätantike bis zur Gegenwart: Ein Philosophisch-ethischer Diskurs über die Jahrhunderte hinweg*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien, 4 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2012); *Studien zur Sprache, zum Werk und zu den wissenschaftlichen Postitionen des Paracelsus*, Salzburger Beiträge zur Paracelsusforschung, 45 (Salzburg: Internationale Paracelsus-Gesellschaft, 2014). See also Urs Leo Gantenbein, "Converging Magical Legends: Faustus, Paracelsus, and Trithemius," *The Faustian Century: German Literature and Culture in the Age of Luther and Faustus*, ed. J. M. van der Laan and Andrew Week. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013), 93–123; *Bridging Traditions: Alchemy, Chemistry, and Paracelsian Practices in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Karen Hunger Parshall, Michael T. Walton, and Bruce T. Moran. Early Modern Studies, 15 (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2015).
58 See the contribution by Charles W. Connell in this volume.

acelsus's medical terms in Latin, German, and sometimes in French as well. His *Onomasticon* (1574) served both the scholarly/scientific audience and the lay readers for whom Paracelsus really had tried to provide more reasonable, and especially more effective medical advice and insights based both on experimental investigations and on classical Galenic teachings.

Next, Willard introduces another strong believer in Paracelsus's teachings, the practitioner physician Adam von Bodenstein (1528 – 1577), who also published a lexicon of Paracelsian terms, his own *Onomasticon*, in 1575. The third follower of Paracelsus, also heavily dedicated to editing and explaining his master's works, was Gerhard Dorn (ca. 1530 – ca. 1584), who was a multilingual speaker himself and brought out another reference work for readers interested in Paracelsus, his *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi* (1584), which was translated posthumously as "Die Erklärung etlicher dunkler vnverständlicher Orter, Reden vnd Wörter in Paracelsi Schriften" (1618). He heavily drew from Toxites, but also added his own explanations, though he limited his text to explanations in Latin.

Willard continues to introduce and to discuss works by subsequent scholars who made great efforts to defend Paracelsus and to elucidate the truth of his insights into the proper medical procedures and pharmaceutical means to assist in the healing process. The foremost challenge always proved to be how to translate the original Paracelsus terminology, which always required an in-depth understanding of the medical ideas behind unique words coined by their master. Paracelsus found followers in Switzerland, Germany, England, France, and Italy, who did not always agree with one another. Their multilingualism contributed to the seeming erudition of their often difficult, if not mystifying dictionaries. Willard thereby demonstrates how much scholars have been fascinated and deeply intrigued by Paracelsus until the very present even though many of them acknowledge that he tended to obfuscate and obscure his writings through the use of his own terminology. The very challenge of his peculiar language use seems to have contributed to the extraordinary myth surrounding Paracelsus.

Could we perhaps go so far as to claim that multilingualism both opens and closes channels of communication? The multilingual community at times might even belong to a sectarian group with elite ambitions and intentions, reaching out for most esoteric understanding not to be shared with the speakers who do not share their private language.

Altogether, as we can conclude, in light of the rich array of studies contained in the present volume and in light of a number of previous volumes dedicated to the same issue, bi- and multilingualism have always been linguistic phenomena of an extraordinary kind from ancient and biblical times to the very present.

Translators and polyglots have constantly assumed an extraordinary position throughout time in that regard, gaining much inspiration, insights, and ideas from texts, music, or images in other languages, although they have then regularly been ignored, blended out, or dismissed as servants to the mighty and powerful. Nevertheless, both in religious and literary texts the gift of speaking several languages has often been identified as a special sign of God's grace.

However, this has not simply meant the perfect solution for communication within human society; at times the opposite has even been the case, triggering wide-spread misunderstanding, hatred, and physical aggression, perhaps out of fear, envy, or jealousy. But those individuals, historical or fictional, who have been blessed with the ability to speak and write in various languages, still belong, as we can perceive it, to a particular category, and their contributions to cultural history have been remarkable in many different ways. They have always reminded us that the miracle of the Pentecost could occur with us as well, and they alerted us to the fact that the human mind is certainly capable of acquiring knowledge of more than one language, as hard as it might seem at the first place.

All this leads us to the realization that we can gain fundamental understanding of human culture and history not only through chronicles and art works, but also through literary works, music, and hence through the study of how individuals coped with different languages, translated, adapted, paraphrased, interpreted, explained, and rendered them into something new. Indeed, human language is a phenomenon of an extraordinary kind, so the study of bi- and multilingualism in their myriad manifestations in the pre-modern world allows us to gain another level of profound insights into the fundamental issues of humanity throughout times and in cultures across the world.[59]

Ken Mondschein
(Westfield State University/American International College)

"Victor Victus"

Bilingualism, Biculturalism, and the Medieval Frontier

In 851, the monk Isaac of Tábarnos left his monastery in Cordoba and walked to the marketplace, where a Muslim qadi was holding court. There, under pretense of wishing to be instructed in Islam, he proceeded to disparage the qadi's religion. Unsurprisingly, Isaac was killed for blasphemy, becoming the first of the martyrs of Cordoba. Though much has been written on this subject, I wish to draw attention to one small fact: That a Christian, "extraordinarily learned in Arabic letters" (*apprime literis arabicis imbutus*) to such a degree that he had served as a government official, addressed a Muslim in the language of the Qu'ran.[1] How, and why, did Isaac become *imbutus* with the Arabic language?

Numerous scholars, beginning with Bernhard Bischoff in his 1961 article on the study of foreign languages in the Middle Ages, have examined the subject of medieval multilingualism, though mostly in the context of academic fluency in both the vernacular and in Latin, learned translations (especially those conducted by liminal figures such as Jews), literary usage of 'code switching' by educated elites, or formally acquired languages.[2] This mirrors the experience of first-world academics, who, by and large, are a self-selecting group of people who have excelled at learning in formal settings. But the majority of real-world language learning does not occur in lecture halls: To cite my own experience, I studied French in school, but, like Chaucer's Prioress who spoke French "after the scole of Stratford-atte-Bowe,"[3] never "knew" the language until I had actually to use it while conducting dissertation research in Paris. Similarly, my Italian was entirely picked up through travel in that country and self-directed translation.

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1 *Acta Sanctorum* vol. 1, June (Paris: Victorem Palmé, 1867), 318. On Isaac as a government official, see Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 14.

2 Bernhard Bischoff, "The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 36 (1961): 209–24. See also Arno Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*. 4 vols. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1957–1963); for a good recent work, see Albrecht Classen, "Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: The Literary-Historical Evidence," *Neophilologus* 97 (2013): 131–45.

3 *Riverside Chaucer,* e. Larry D. Benson, 3rd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 25, ll. 124–26.

Compare my entirely voluntary learning experiences as a culturally privileged traveler and speaker of a dominant language to those of an immigrant to the United States struggling to learn English or the bilingualism of her American-born child, who must mediate between two worlds; of Afghans in Kabul, for whom a smattering of English can be a key to survival; or of Indians and Senegalese, for whom the use of English or French as administrative and academic languages is part of what the novelist Kiran Desai called "the inheritance of loss," both a doorway to a wider world and the legacy of colonial imposition; or of my students from Argentina, Ethiopia, or Japan, who have learned English as a means of participating in the soft imperialism of globalization. Language learning, more than a tool of scholarship or signifier of *habitus*, can also be a survival mechanism or a tool of advancement in an unequal linguistic playing field. It makes eminent sense for a Christian in al-Andalus such as Isaac of Tábarnos to be able to speak the language of his conquerors—and, like Gandhi, to turn it against them.

Very few writers have addressed medieval multilingualism in the context of such colonial situations, where learning a language is a means of negotiating between two different and unequal polities. Yet, in light of Robert Bartlett's assertion that European culture was made by the expansion of frontiers—and thus, the intermeshing of linguistic zones—such a study is well overdue.[4] The aim of this paper is to look at how medieval multilingualism and multiculturalism came about in a largely oral culture in the context of conquest, colonization, and cultural exchange.[5]

I will propose several models of language learning, from adult learners acquiring a smattering of a language as a survival mechanism or by formal study; those who acquired language through deliberate programs of childhood exposure; and those who are the products of bicultural and bilingual marriage. This last category, that of marriage across cultural lines, carries special weight, since it was the medieval model carried to the New World and which informed the creation of the Mestizo people.

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[4] Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950 – 1350* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994). Bartlett does briefly treat with the subject on pp. 199 – 204.

[5] The Westphalian cleric Ludolph von Sudheim reported that such existed in fourteenth-century Cyprus in *Ludolphi de Sudheim de itinere Terre Sancte et descriptionem Terre Sancte* in *Archives de l'Orient Latin* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1884), 305 – 77. See also Jean Richard, "L'enseignement des langues orientales en Occident au Moyen Âge," *Revue des etudes islamiques* 44.1 (1976): 149 – 64.

Travelers Between Worlds

The main theaters for medieval expansion were eastwards, into the area around the Baltic sea and eastern Europe, colonized mainly by German-speaking lords and military orders; southwards into the Muslim and Greek Orthodox Mediterranean, spearheaded by the Normans in Sicily and then the polyglot armies of the Crusades; westwards in the form of the Reconquista in Spain, as well as the Anglo-Norman venture first into Wales and then into Ireland; and, to a lesser extent, Scandinavian expansion into the North Atlantic and the Western Hemisphere. Bartlett describes this process as beginning with forays by merchants and missionaries. Such forays need not have been intentionally expansionistic in nature: Adam of Bremen notes the ninth-century bishop and missionary Anskar's "longing for the Swedish people" in the midst of Viking raids; presumably, Christianizing the invaders would end the violence.[6] Other explorers may simply have been engaging in subsistence-level fishing or hunting or low-level trade.

The wheels of society-wide colonization might be set in motion by a variety of motivations: Lust for profit, the desire to avenge the killing of God's messengers or the merchant adventurers of one's own land (as in Livonia), interference with pilgrims (as in southern Italy), or even the invitation of a local ruler (such as the Emperor Alexius's plea to Urban II for military aid, or Diarmait Mac Murchada's seeking Anglo-Norman aid to recover Leinster). The reoccurrence of such *casus belli* in the sources harmonizes quite well with D. K. Fieldhouse's observation (for nineteenth-century imperialism) that "the "metropolitan dog [was] wagged by its colonial tail"—though, of course, for the Middle Ages, we must speak of magnates rather than metropoles.[7] The end result of this process, however, is the same no matter what the age: The invaded land (and its resources) are thus enfolded into the invader's socioeconomic organization.

As Bartlett observes, medieval Latin Christendom may be envisioned as a "network of bishoprics" expanding outwards from the core lands of the Frankish empire, northern Spain, and Great Britain, and supported by the economic structure of the medieval economy—that is, tithes and rents based on intensive cereal agriculture.[8] This economic organization also informs the justification of the conquest by the dominant ideology of the time, the establishment of the enemy as

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6 Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Francis J. Tschan (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 30.

7 David Kenneth Fieldhouse, *Economics and Empire, 1830–1914* (New York: Macmillan, 1984), 80–81.

8 Bartlett, *Making of Europe* (see note 3), 7.

the Other, and the generation of mass enthusiasm for the venture. This same tendency informs medieval explorers' tropes of foreign cultures: It is toward the edges of the map—on marginal lands, or other places where the manorial-intensive grain agricultural economy and the concomitant social structure of marriage-property relations do not hold—that the ordinary order breaks down and one begins to find monsters. Gerald of Wales (1146–1223), for instance, details both the improper ecclesiastical organization of the Welsh and Irish (with monasteries relying on lay patrons, rather than holding land on their own) and these peoples' penchant for marriage within the forbidden degrees of separation—both of which customs grew out of the Celtic people's pastoral economy and social organization in clans, but which (in the case of Ireland) gave Henry II an ostensible justification for invasion (via the papal bull *Laudabiliter*).[9] For instance, Gerald describes (II.19–27) Irish monsters engendered by unnatural intercourse and magic, such as werewolves, bearded women, and a creature that was half-man/half ox. He then talks about miracles and the particular character of religion in Ireland (II.28–55). Later, paralleling this, he talks about the poor quality and ignorance of Irish faith, including sexual relations that would have been considered incest in other lands (III.19–26), the neglect of the clergy (III.27–32), and the oddities of Irish relics (III.33–34). It is in III.35 that he ties the two themes together: So many Irish are deformed or handicapped in some way, states Gerald, because of incest, neglected faith, and improper marriage.

Likewise, though the fantastical images of the Other in Marco Polo's book may be explained by Rustichello's understanding of what the audience *expected*, the more sober accounts of Franciscan friars such as John of Monte Corvino and John of Plano Carpini, who traveled amongst the Mongols, nonetheless never fail to mention their marriage customs and property division. Such fundamental details of social organization remain a primary concern of anthropological inquiry today.[10]

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9 On Irish monstrosity, see Robert Bartlett's chapters on "Ethnography," id., *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (Stroud: Tempus, 2006); Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: The Bodies of Gerald of Wales," *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen. The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Joseph T. Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Idea of Irish Nationality. Its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century*. Critical Conditions, 3 (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996); and James Muldoon, *Identity on the Medieval Irish Frontier: Degenerate Englishmen, Wild Irishmen, Middle Nations* (Gainesville, Tallahassee, et al.: University Press of Florida, 2003).
10 The standard English translation of Marco Polo is Ronald Latham, *Travels of Marco Polo* (New York: Penguin Classics, 2004). For English translations of John of Monte Corvino, see the "Letter of John Monte Corvino" in *Cathay and the Way Thither*, trans. and ed. by Sir Henry Yule, sec. ed. rev. by Henri Cordier (London: Hakluyt Society, 1914), Vol. III, Second Series,

Differences in language, as Isidore of Seville observed in the beginning of the ninth book of the *Etymologies*, came about after the tower of Babel, and it was language that divided peoples.[11] Hugo of Trimberg mentions in his early fourteenth-century Middle High German didactic poem *Der Renner* those who need to learn foreign languages to fill purse and stomach.[12] A number of phrase-books existed for the use of not only those pilgrims and merchants who traveled between European countries, but those who had to bridge the gaps between Europe and the rest of the world. To cite three instances, Charles V of France (1338 – 1380) apparently possessed a book entitled *Les pélerinages d'oultremer et á savoir demander en langaige sarrazin ses nécessités pour vivre*, Bernhard von Breydenbach (ca. 1440 – 1497) gives a list of almost two hundred common Arabic words in his 1483 *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, and Arnold von Harff (1471 – 1505) includes numerous lists of foreign phrases in his late fifteenth-century memoirs (1498) on how to say select phrases such as "how much does this cost?" and "Lady, will you sleep with me?" in nine languages including Arabic, Turkish, Greek, and Hebrew.[13]

Interpreters were a possibility, particularly if one had access to Latin Christian communities in the East, which were, for obvious reasons, multilingual. In this vein Louis of Rochechouart, bishop of Saintes, describes each pilgrim traveling with him being welcomed at Rhodes in their own language on his 1461 pilgrimage.[14] Other linguistic go-betweens could include such ordinarily unsavo-

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Vol. 37, 45 – 55. On John of Plano Carpini, see Yule, *Cathay*, vol. I, 197 – 221. On marriage and social organization, see especially Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Les Structures élémentaires de la parenté* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949).

11 *Etymologiarum* 9.1.1: *Initio autem quot gentes, tot linguae fuerunt, deinde plures gentes quam linguae; quia ex una lingua multae sunt gentes exortae.* http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/ Roman/Texts/Isidore/9*.html (last accessed on Nov, 19, 2014).

12 Hugo of Trimberg *Der Renner*, ed. Gustav Ehrismann. Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins, 247 (Tübingen: Literarischer Verein, 1908), 149; discussed by Bischoff, "The Study of Foreign Languages" (see note 2) on p. 216.

13 Bischoff, "The Study of Foreign Languages" (see note 2), 218 – 20. See also Albrecht Classen, "Travel Space as Constructed Space: Arnold von Harff Observes the Arabic Space," *German Studies Review* 33.2 (2010): 375 – 88; id., "Traveler, Linguist, Pilgrim, Observer, and Scientist: Arnold von Harff Explores the Near East and Finds Himself Among Fascinating Foreigners," *Ain güt geboren edel man: A Festschrift for Winder McConnell on the Occasion of His Sxity-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Gary C. Shockey with Gail E. Finney and Clifford A. Bernd. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 757 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2011), 195 – 248.

14 Louis de Rochechouart, "Voyage a Jérusalem," ed. C. Couderc. *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 18 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1893), 168 – 274; here 235.

ry characters as Jews and heretics.[15] Some voyagers tried, and failed, to learn the local tongue. For instance, the fifteenth-century Burgundian traveler Bertrandon de la Broquière learned a smattering of Turkish, but did not speak it well.[16] The *lingua franca* of Mediterranean trade could also function as a bridge language, as when the late fifteenth century Flemish nobleman Anselmo Adorno apparently had to have Arabic translated for him through this intermediary.[17] (Lingala and Swahili serve similar purposes as trade languages in modern Africa.)

Italian merchants were found throughout Eurasia during the *pax mongolica*; for them, a familiarity with languages, as well as the *lingua franca* of Mediterranean trade, was a necessity. The multilingual *Codex Cumanicus* preserved in Venice, which has sections translating both Italo-Latin and German into Kipchak and Persian, is not only a documentary testimony to the colonies of Italian merchants on the Black Sea, but also evidence that some attempt at language-teaching was made.[18] Venetians seemed to have a particular aptitude for languages, as the merchant-adventurers Marco Polo, Nicolò de' Conti, and Emmanuel Piloti show. Polo apparently became adept in four Asian languages—Uighur, Mongol, Arabic, and Persian—in this journey to the East. Later, in the early fifteenth century, de' Conti successfully passed as a Muslim and studied Arabic and Persian in the East.[19] Piloti, his near contemporary, lived in Egypt and the Middle East for over two decades and became fluent in Arabic.[20] However, the greatest example of this sort of traveler was not Venetian, but Bolognese: In the early sixteenth century, Ludovico of Varthema learned Arabic in Damascus, enlisted as a Mamluk, travelled to Mecca (?), returned home by traveling first to India and sailing around the Cape of Good Hope, and published his account of his adventures in

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15 Jean-Claude Faucon, "Voyager et communiquer: Les problèmes d'intercompréhension chez les voyageurs occidentaux dans l'Orient médiéval," *Revue des Langues Romanes* 111:1 (2007): 1–29; here, 8, 11.

16 "Le Voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière premier écuyer tranchant et conseiller de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1432–1433)," ed. Charles Schefer. *Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géographie depuis le XIIIᵉ siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIᵉ siècle*, ed. Charles Schefer, vol. 12 (Paris: E. Leroux, 1892), 59, 70, 128.

17 Faucon, "Voyager et communiquer, " (see note 14), 9. On Adorno, see *Itinéraire d'Anselmo Adorno en terre sainte (1470–1471)*, ed. Jacques Heers and Georgette de Groer (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1978).

18 Cod. Mar. Lat. DXLIX, published by Vladimir Drimba as *Codex Comanicus: Édition diplomatique avec fac-similés* (Bucarest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2000).

19 *Le voyage aux Indes de Nicolò de' Conti* ed. Geneviève Bouchon et Anne-Laure Amilhat Szary (Paris: Chandeigne, 2004), 9.

20 *Traité d'Emmanuel Piloti sur le passage en Terre Sainte 1420*, ed. Pierre-Herman Dopp (Louvain and Paris: Publications de l'université Louvanium de Léopoldville, 1958).

1510.[21] His account inspired Richard Francis Burton's own nineteenth-century voyage to Mecca.

Knowing a few words of another language could also be a military advantage on the frontier. Henry of Livonia records the Germans' Lettish allies being taught to "seize, ravage, and kill" in their language to make it seem as if an attacking force contained more (better-armed) German soldiers.[22] Similarly, the southern Italians who joined Robert Guiscard attempted to learn French.[23] These sorts of situations are not too dissimilar from an Afghan soldier learning a few American military terms to better coordinate with his advisors/trainers.

Advanced language skills were even more useful: In 1085, Robert of Calabria sent Phillip, son of a Greek aristocrat, to conduct a night reconnaissance of the Muslim fleet, for he and his men were fluent in Arabic as well as Greek.[24] Similarly, Usamah Ibn-Munqidh's (1095 – 1188) anecdote about a greenhorn Frank trying to turn him away from praying in the direction of the qiblah in the small chapel next to the Aqsa mosque is well-known; what is less remarked upon is that he seemed to be able to communicate easily with his friends the Templars, who had cleared out the chapel so he could pray in the Muslim manner.[25] Joinville likewise met Armenians and Arabs who spoke French. Ethnic conflict could also be conceived of in linguistic terms. The conflict between the English and Welsh provides us with two examples: A letter of the Count of Northumbria to Henry IV (in Anglo-Norman French!) claims Owain Glendower's intent is to "destroy the English tongue."[26] Similarly, Adam of Usk talks about the "destruction of the Welsh tongue."[27] To destroy a language is to destroy a people.

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21 *Itinerario de Ludouico de Varthema Bolognese* (Rome: Guillireti de Loreno and Hercule de Nani, 1510). See also Albrecht Classen, "Introduction," *East Meets West: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin De Gruyter, 2013), 1 – 222; for a more detailed discussion, see Albrecht Classen, "India Perceived Through the Eyes of Sixteenth-Century Readers: Ludovico de Varthema's Bestseller on the Early Modern Book Markets—A Narrative Landmark of the Emerging Positive Evaluation of *curiositas*," *Mediaevalia et Humanistica* 40 (2015): 1 – 24.
22 *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. James Brundage (Madison, WI: University of Wisonsin Press, 1961), 202.
23 William of Apulia, *La geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. Marguerite Mathieu (Palermo: Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici, 1961), 108.
24 Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1928), 86.
25 *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah Ibn-Munqidh*, trans. Philip K. Hitti (1929; New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 163.
26 *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England* ed. Harris Nicolas, vol. 2 (London: Printed by G. Eyre and A. Spottiswoode, 1834), 60.

Much like the merchants they followed missionaries to the Baltic such as Meinhard would have needed at least a smattering of language to communicate with the peoples there. Familiarity with languages would be a necessary part of the mission of the preaching orders, who frequently served in this role: Roche- chouart used a Franciscan interpreter, Father Laurence the Sicilian, as an inter- preter; John of Monte Corvino, who also learned Mongol, belonged to the order; and another Franciscan, Pascal of Vittoria, killed in 1339, spoke Cuman and Uighur.[28] Jean de Joinville mentions a Dominican, Yves the Breton, who spoke Arabic well, and the Dominican apologist and writer Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, who traveled and lived throughout the Near East in the late thirteenth cen- tury, used an interpreter at first, but became fluent enough in Arabic to preach in that language and write learned analyses of the Qur'an.[29] William of Rubruck's account of his journey to the East from 1253–1255 is full of travails with interpret- ers, begging people to help him with the language, and his inability to preach because of linguistic barriers, but he was nonetheless a keen observer of the speech of the peoples he meets along his route. William and Riccoldo's fellow Dominican William of Tripoli was more fortunate in this regard, having been born in the Levant.[30] We can see the same concerns in the contrast between the two great Jesuit missionaries of the sixteenth century, Francis Xavier, who missionary activity was limited by his lack of mastery of languages; and Matteo Ricci, who became fluent in Chinese. The need for fluency in languages to spread the Word of God was one reason why the fourteenth-century Catalan mystic Ramon Llull developed his universal logical language/analog computational de- vice, the *Ars Magna*. On the ground, though, functional Latin bilingualism and a comprehensive knowledge of grammar were no doubt a great advantage that clerics who had to learn new languages enjoyed over laymen. In any case, reli- gion can be a great spur to learning languages; the latter-day counterparts of these medieval missionaries, the Mormon Church, has a quite effective system

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27 Adam of Usk, *Chronicon Ade de Usk*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (London: Henry Frowde, 1904), 71

28 Rochechouart, "Voyage a Jérusalem," (see note 13), 170; for Pascal de Vittoria, see his *Epis- tle* of 1338 in *Annales Minorum*, ed. Luke Wadding, vol. 7 (Rome: Bernarbo, 1733), 356–67.

29 Jean de Joinville, *Mémoires de Jean, Sire de Joinville* (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1881), 134. Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, *Liber Peregrinacionis* in *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quattuor*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Leipzig: C. P. Melzeri, 1864), 119, 131.

30 Thomas F. O'Meara, "The Theology and Times of William of Tripoli, O.P.: A Different View of Islam," *Theological Studies* 69 (2008): 80–98. William's writings on Islam are published as *No- titia de Machometo: De statu Sarracenorum*, ed. Peter Engels (Würzburg: Echter, 1992).

of language-teaching to facilitate their missions to non-English-speaking countries.

Preachers and priests were, if not the shock troops spearheading conquest, those who followed after to order the world according to the new norms. But a priest still had to serve his congregation. Thus, liturgical texts giving Mozarabic and Greek liturgies in Roman characters were made for priests serving communities in Iberia and the Greek-speaking communities of southern Italy. For one example, Roger Reynolds has published on a Greek liturgy of St. John Chrysostom written in Beneventan script.[31]

Many preachers, including Gerald of Wales, likewise had to make use of interpreters in their attempts to bring the proper order of the world into new lands. Gerald himself was somewhat linguistically handicapped: Ad Putter argues that, though partially of Welsh descent, Gerald spoke French as his mother tongue and Latin as an acquired second language, and at least understood English, but only had a smattering of Welsh.[32] Thus, he and his fellow preachers were forced to make use of interpreters such as Alexander, the archdeacon of Bangor.[33]

Reliance on interpreters was certainly not unusual in the Britain of Gerald's time, which was only a few generations removed from the Norman conquest: Putter points out that Gerald himself performs such duties, generally translating the English of various speakers (including the educated, such as priests) for his readers, who we can assume were Anglo-Norman-speaking elites.[34] Gerald further recounts how Henry II required a knight, Philip of Marcross, to translate the warning of a wandering preacher from English to French,[35] and another interpreter to interpret a furious Welshwoman.[36] One could even hold land on the Welsh frontier in return for service as an interpreter.[37] But where and how did Gerald, Alexander, Philip, and the other linguistic go-betweens acquire their multilingualism?

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31 Roger Reynolds, "The Greek Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in Beneventan Script: An Early Manuscript Fragment." *Mediaeval Studies* 52 (1990): 296–302.
32 Ad Putter, "Multilingualism in England and Wales *c.* 1200: The Testimony of Gerald of Wales," *Medieval Multilingualism: The Francophone World and Its Neighbours*, ed. Christopher Kleinhenz and Keith Busby. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 83–106.
33 Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales and the Description of Wales*, trans. Lewis Thrope (New York: Penguin, 1978), 29, n. 104.
34 Putter, "Multilingualism" (see note 29), 93–96.
35 *Journey*, trans. Thorpe (see note 30), 124.
36 *Journey*, trans. Thorpe (see note 30), 167.
37 Bartlett, *Making of Europe* (see note 3), 200.

"Mother Tongues"

According to the "critical period" hypothesis, children are best able to learn language at an early age—the age at which they tend to be under maternal care.[38] Many scholars have extended this to the learning of second languages. Though there is some disagreement, and certainly motivated and talented adult learners in the right environment can sometimes achieve native-like proficiency, the consensus is that second-language learners become most fluent if exposed at an early age.[39] This is certainly the model in multilingual societies in modern Africa, where there is a great deal of importance placed on fluent oral communication in different language modalities.

Medieval people were aware of children's advantage in learning language, and it was common to rear children deliberately in a multilingual, multicultural environment by employing nurses or tutors proficient in the target language, or by fostering them in households where the target language was spoken. Renate Haas points out the connection between foreign language teaching and early childhood in her examination of Walter de Bibbesworth's *Tretiz de Language*, the first known example of a didactic work dedicated to instructing Anglophones in French.[40] This handbook was written ca. 1235 for the children of the English noblewoman Dionysia de Munchensi, and Haas makes a strong argument that this book was intended for use by a woman charged with the care of young children.[41] Ranulph Higden, in his *Polychronicon* (ca. 1350), tells us that the children of the English nobility were taught to speak French "ab ipsis cunabulorum crepundiis" (roughly "from the time they shake a rattle in their cradles"), but that when up-jumped countryfolk try to learn, "francigenare satagunt omni nisu" ("they all speak French pushing themselves with great effort").[42] His near-contemporary Froissart likewise tells us that the well-born Jehan de

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38 The idea of the "critical period" was first expressed in *Wilder Penfield and Lamar Roberts, Speech and Brain Mechanisms* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959).

39 See, for instance, *The Age Factor in Second Language Acquisition*, ed. David Singleton and Zsolt Lengyel (Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 1995).

40 BnF Nouv. Acq. Lat. 669. See also Karen K. Jambeck, "The 'Tretiz' of Walter of Bibbesworth: Cultivating the Vernacular," *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 159–84.

41 Renate Haas, "Female Roots of 'Foreign' Language Teaching and the Rise of Mother-Tongue Ideologies," *Exemplaria* 19.1 (2007): 139–62.

42 *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, ed. Churchill Babington, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1869), 158.

Blois, who had been raised (*nourry*) in Holland and Zeeland, spoke those languages as a consequence.[43]

Certainly, the idea of women as reproducers of culture, critical in shaping a child's early character and passing on national language and culture, has a long history in Enlightenment-era liberal thought—Rousseau's Sophie or the Grimm Brothers' idea of *Volksgeist* being passed down through *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* ("children's and home tales") being two prominent examples—but it was true of pre-Enlightenment Europe as well, as Barbara Hanawalt has demonstrated in her several works.[44] Even the term "mother tongue" implies the role of women in linguistic and cultural transmission, though J. R. R. Tolkien, in his 1955 O'Donnell lecture "English and Welsh," gives the perhaps more accurate (though equally gendered) term "cradle tongue" as opposed to "the native tongue"— the language of early childhood versus the language of predilection.[45]

If imparting language in early childhood was the domain of women, acquisition of language in later childhood seems to have been a male domain. Lupus Servatus (ca. 805–862), Abbot of Ferrières and himself son of a Bavarian father and a Frankish mother, wrote to Abbot Marcwardus, abbot of Prüm, in July of 844 asking to send his nephew and two other young boys (*puerulos*) to be instructed in German.[46] Albrecht Classen points to the protagonist of Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan* (ca. 1210) as a linguistic marvel who has been educated in multiple vernaculars.[47] The poet specifies that this training took place in later childhood: From the age of seven, Tristan's tutor took him to foreign lands to learn the language.[48] Though Tristan's linguistic abilities border on the preternatural, this was not merely a literary conceit: Arnold of Lübeck, in his early thirteenth-century continuation of Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum*, tells us that Danish noblemen sent their children to Paris not only for (Latin) book-learning, but to be

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43 Getty Museum MS Ludwig XIII 7, f. 264r: *qui tousjours avoit esté nourry ens es parties de Hollandes et de Zeellande car il y tenoit bel hiretage et qui en avoit la langue aussi.*

44 See especially Barbara Hanawalt's *Growing Up in Medieval London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). On women as reproducers of national culture, see especially *Woman-Nation-State*, Nara Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (London: Macmillan, 1989), and Ann Laura Stoler, "Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power in Colonial Asia," *Feminism and History*, ed. Joan Wallach Scott (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

45 John Ronald Ruel Tolkien, "English and Welsh," *The Monsters and the Critics*, ed. Christopher Tolkien (London: Allen and Unwin, 1983), 191.

46 *Lettres de Servat Loup*, ed. Georges Desdevises du Dezert (Paris: F. Viewig, 1888), 98.

47 Vol. 1, vv. 3690–3709. See Classen, "Multilingualism" (see note 2), 137. Cf. also his remarks in the introduction to this volume.

48 Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan und Isolde*, ed. Friedrich Ranke (Berlin: Weidmann, 1930), 26, lines 2060–64.

"imbued" with the language of the land (*ubi litteratura simul et idiomate lingue terre illius imbuti*).[49]

This may be how Isaac of Tábarnos, who originated from a prominent family, came to learn his Arabic. The choice of the verb *imbuere* ("to wet, soak, give initial instruction in") gives an interesting possibility that this linguistic "sponge" learned it through childhood experience: as part of his education, he was immersed in the Arabic language. Certainly, this model functioned in other times and places where Muslims and Christians coexisted. Joinville remarks that Nicholas of Acre and Baldwin of Ibelin spoke Arabic well.[50] Nicholas and Baldwin were both raised in the Crusader states, and Arabic would have certainly been part of their upbringing. Similarly, in *El Cantar de Mío Cid* (ca. 1200), Christians and Muslims are able to understand one another without interpreters. While this may be poetic license, it was apparently not considered unusual for Iberian elites to speak one another's language. (To be sure, Spain remained bilingual for quite some time after Arabic ceased to be used as an official government language: in fourteenth-century Christian Valencia, there were even official translators.[51])

Immersing children in a second language was not only an element of elite education on the Muslim-Christian frontier, but also in Eastern Europe. German emperors such as Otto I, Frederick II, and Charles IV were masters of several languages, and the thirty-first chapter of the Golden Bull (1356) specifies that, in light of the multilingual nature of the Holy Roman Empire, children of electors, who are assumed to have German as a mother-tongue, were to be trained in Italian and Slavic languages, as well. What is interesting is that the possible means of acquiring the language are discussed, but left up to the parents: They may be fostered out, or taught at home by the procurement of tutors and target-language fluent companions.[52]

The common element in such early immersion, whether of infants or of older children, was that it took place in a milieu where mastery of multiple languages was a useful and valued skill. While one side has established dominance by force of arms, this is not an absolute dominance, and cultural and linguistic borders

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49 *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum* (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1868), 77

50 Jean de Joinville, *Mémoires de Jean, Sire de Joinville* (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1881), 107, 109.

51 John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977), 74 n. 41, 384; Bartlett, *Making of Europe* (see note 3), 204–205.

52 *Bulla aurea*, see online at:
http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~Harsch/Chronologia/Lspost14/CarolusIV/car_bu00.html (last accessed on Oct. 4, 2014).

between old and new elites must be negotiated. Conversely, where the political situation was different, fear of assimilation reared its head and boundaries were maintained by forbidding the language of those of lower status to those of higher status. For instance, in a decree of 1359 or 1360, Edward III forbade those of the "English race" (*de genere Anglicano*), for fear of acculturation, to learn Irish, to speak Irish amongst themselves, or, most tellingly, to give their children out amongst the Irish to be fostered.[53] The unequal playing field, once established, must be preserved. We see similar politics play out with the phenomenon of intermarriage.

Intermarriage

While R. I. Moore has traced the tendency to try to create a hermetic barrier between the community and the Other back to the Middle Ages, discussing how "the fear of pollution protects boundaries, and the fear of social pollution, sexual boundaries especially," not all scholars agree with this assessment. [54] Certainly, nineteenth-century imperialists saw intermarriage and acculturation with a mixture of Orientalist fascination and racial-supremacist horror. However, in the premodern world, such unions were a tool of conquest.[55] Laura Ann Stoler, for instance, has discussed the comparative novelty of strict hygienic barriers between peoples, and in the liminal territory of the medieval frontier, things were even more fluid.[56]

Marriages between different groups, even ones crossing lines of religion, were not uncommon in the interconnected society of early Islamic Spain, as Jes-

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53 "...*et nichilhominus homines de genere Anglicano in dicta terra idioma Hibernicum erudiunt et loquuntur et infantes suos inter Hibernicos nutriendos, et lingugua Hibernica utantur, emittunt et locantur, ita quod per huius idioma populous noster campestris de genere Anglicano pro majori parte Hibernicus devenit....*" *Great Britain Historical Manuscripts Commission 10th Report* (London: Royal *Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, 1885), Appendix V, pp. 260–61. One fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman noble, Gerald fitz Maurice fitzGerald, Earl of Desmond, even wrote poetry in Irish. See Gearóid MacNiocaill, "Duanaire Ghearôid Iarla," *Studia Hibernica* 3 (1963): 7–59.
54 Robert Ian Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 100.
55 For the latter, see, for instance, Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1901).
56 Ann Laura Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in Twentieth-Century Colonial Cultures," *Dangerous Liasons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives* ed. Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 344–73.

sica A. Coope discusses in her short but thorough *Martyrs of Córdoba.*[57] Islamic law allowed a Muslim man to marry a *dhimmi* woman; Muslim women, however, could not marry outside the faith. Such alliances were problematic, but they were not unheard of, especially since it conveyed certain advantages. As Coope says, "It seems possible that as life in Córdoba came to center more and more around economic activity and the amir's court, Arab and Berber families would be willing to welcome a daughter-in-law from a wealthy or well-connected Iberian family, even though they might continue to trace their genealogy exclusively though the male line."[58]

Though Coope deals with Christian and Muslim society in the ninth century, mixed marriages were a common feature through the period of *convicencia*. However, as time went on such practices grew increasingly restricted and politicized against. This was reflected in canon law as discussed by Brundage,[59] and in popular and legal discourse discouraging intermarriage as discussed by Nirenberg, Meyerson and others—discourses that frequently invoked, as the fifteenth century went on, the idea of taint of blood.[60]

Yet, even as these practices were being condemned in the rapidly consolidating metropole, they continued to be practiced on the frontier—for instance, in the Canary Islands. Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo observed that intermarriage with indigenous ruling families, a policy derived from contact with Islam and medieval Spanish Jewry, was a critical element of the Spanish conquest and settlement of the Canaries.[61] The sons of native chiefs who cooperated with the conquerors were taught the Spanish language and religion by Franciscan monks, and "European settlers frequently sought to link their claims to land with such native prerogatives, and intermarriage with these noble families was not unusual."[62]

Similarly, Filipe Fernández-Armesto comments that "[t]he Spaniards were generally more sensitive to differences of class than those of race or culture,

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57 Jessica A. Coope, *The Martyrs of Cordova: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).

58 Coope, *Martyrs* (see note 57), 13.

59 James A. Brundage, "Intermarriage between Christians and Jews in Medieval Canon Law," *Jewish History* 3 (1988): 25–40.

60 David Nirenberg, "Enmity and Assimilation: Jews, Christians, and Converts in Medieval Spain." *Common Knowledge* 9.1 (2003): 137–55; Mark Meyerson, *Jews in an Iberian Frontier Kingdom: Society, Economy, and Politics in Morvedre* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004).

61 Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo, "The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm: The Failure of Spanish Medieval Colonization of the Canary and Caribbean Islands," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35.3 (July, 1993): 515–43; here 534.

62 Stevens-Arroyo, "The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm" (see note 60), 534.

and the cream of the old indigenous society found protection and even welcome in early colonial society. Much of the Canarian nobility was integrated by marriage into the Castilian ... ."[63] It was the marriage bed as much as the sword and the bacterium that ended the Guanches as a separate culture. This extended to other peoples on the frontier as well: as late as 1514, Diego Afonso, a Portugese *estante* (resident) of Tenerife, split his property after his death between his stepdaughter and his daughter by an enslaved African woman.

This policy of taking native wives continued in the New World, at least at first. The legend of *La Malinche*, who was baptized as Doña Marina, serves as an exemplar: She was a multilingual Mayan/Nahuatl/Spanish interpreter given to Cortés as a slave, but who, as her name indicates, came to be regarded by the Spanish as having high status. She had two children, one with Cortés and one with Juan Jaramillo—the first mestizos, who were not only bilingual, but bicultural, able to interpret between the majority Indian population and their new Spanish-speaking rulers. This sort of cultural intermeshing did not happen in regions where the Spanish greatly outnumbered Native Americans. For instance, those who had married the daughters of Taino chiefs were not given *encomiendas* because they were seen as having dropped in status.[64] However, it did take place, albeit on a smaller scale, in French colonies, where French fur-traders built social networks by intermarrying with Native Americans.[65]

We see this pattern at least as far back as the Carolingian era. Louis the Pious's mother Hildegard, for instance, was an Alemannic princess. His daughter-in-law, Ermengarde of Hesbaye, wife of Louis the German, was daughter of a Frank and a Bavarian. The same thing happened in Norman Italy: Robert Guiscard and three of his brothers married into the ruling family of Salerno. Joanna H. Drell and G. A. Loud argue that intermarriage and cultural syncretism was a deliberate strategy in Norman Italy.[66] We see a similar pattern in the conquest of Ireland. John de Courcy, an ambitious knight who had mounted his own expedition to northern Ireland without the permission of Henry II, married Affreca, the daughter of Guthred, King of Mann, to cement his gains. (A prosopographical

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63 Felipe Fernández-Armesto. *The Canary Islands After the Conquest: The Making of a Colonial Society in the Early Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 127.

64 Stevens-Arroyo, "The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm" (see note 60), 532.

65 Susan *Sleeper-Smith, "Women, Kin, and Catholicism:* New Perspectives on the Fur Trade." *Ethnohistory* 47.2 (2000): 423–52.

66 Joanna H. Drell, "Cultural Syncretism and Ethnic Identity: The Norman 'Conquest' of Southern Italy and Sicily," *Journal of Medieval History* 25.3 (1999): 187–202. See also Graham A. Loud "Continuity and Change in Norman Italy: The Campania During the Eleventh and the Twelfth Centuries," *Journal of Medieval History* 22 (1996): 313–43.

study of lineages and languages in the Frankish nobility would be a worthwhile study and means of quantifying this tendency.)

Intermarriage also took place in the Crusader kingdoms, though not at an elite level. Despite the fact that Usamah Ibn-Munqidh mentions that the Franks never voluntarily intermarry, the anecdote he relates to prove the point shows that such mingling nonetheless took place: A Frankish woman taken forcibly as wife by a Muslim noble; their (bicultural and, we can assume, bilingual) son inherits his lands after his death, but she prefers to remarry a Frankish cobbler.[67] In another instance, Usamah comments that he encountered a blind Muslim whose mother had been married to a Frank, but who had murdered her husband and turned her son toward banditry.[68] Women were also taken as spoils of war in the Baltic crusades.

Such bicultural children had numerous advantages in a situation where a foreign ruling elite had replaced a native elite. Besides being seen as legitimate heirs of both lineages, they would speak both languages. In fact, the early four-teenth-century rhyming Czech *Dalimil Chronicle* uses this as a counterargument against intermarriage: One reason why the eleventh-century Duke Udalrich (999–1034) might have wanted to marry a Czech peasant girl instead of a German princess was that the latter "would teach my children German / and change their customs."[69] Similarly, Geoffrey Malaterra complains of the Lombards who handed over a castle that Duke Roger had trusted them with since he was of their kin on his mother's side (*quia ex partae matris ex eorum gente erat*), which nonetheless underscores the fact that he *did* trust these "conquered" people with a castle.[70]

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67 *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades* (see note 24), 159–60.
68 *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman* (see note 24), 168–69.
69 *Dalimil Chronicle* ed. Josef *Jiříček* in *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* 3 (Prague: Nákladem Musea královstvi ceskéh, 1882), 83–84. Translated by Bartlett, *Making of Europe* (see note 3), 231.This is now available online in its Middle High German version, ed. by Venceslas Hanka (1859) at: http://de.wikisource.org/w/index.php?title=Seite:1859_Dalimils_Chronik_von_B%C3%B6hmen.djvu/1&action=edit&redlink=1 (last accessed on Oct. 4, 2014); see a discussion of this remarkable passage by Albrecht Classen, "Introduction," *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: The Spatial Turn in Premodern Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen, with the collaboration of Christopher R. Clason. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 9 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2012), 95.
70 Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1928), 102.

Conclusions

To speak another language is to transcend both political and personal boundaries and to show respect for another culture. However, to learn to speak another language fluently, even in a primarily oral society, is no easy task. Medieval frontier communities were distinguished by a recognition of the utility of bilingualism, and had cultural practices geared towards early language-learning and intended to impart these competencies to children. In the same way, marriage unions between peoples were seen as advantageous, not only for conveying political legitimacy to the next generation of rulers of peoples unified by conquest, but also because such children could serve as linguistic and cultural go-betweens. These practices were seen as early as during the Carolingian empire, and persisted into the Spanish conquest of the New World.

However, such programs only existed in situations where speakers of the non-dominant language were comparatively enfranchised, whether by virtue of outnumbering their erstwhile conquerors, or, as with the Welsh, because they proudly maintained their own linguistic traditions. Conversely, where one group was placed in a clear subordinate role, their language was similarly denigrated and even forbidden to the dominant group. We also see language attrition and even death, as when Arabic became the dominant language in the Dar al-Islam or in the formation of European national vernaculars.[71]

This pattern continued into the early modern and modern periods. In the early phases of Spanish conquest, intermarriage was a viable strategy; as Iberian rule became more firmly entrenched, this was replaced with a hierarchy of color and an obsession with *raza* and *limpieza de sangre*. Conversely, the French *voyageurs* were never numerous, and France was never very interested in direct rule of her North American territories; we thus see intermarriage and integration into Native American communities. As Stoler and others have demonstrated, the nineteenth century was interested in erecting walls between colonizer and colonized as an overall strategy of national self-definition. Today, in our multinational and multilingual society, the pendulum seems to be swinging back the other way.

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71 This is seriously discussed among contemporary Arabic linguists who are worried about the well-being of Arabic today.

Gregory B. Kaplan (University of Tennessee)

The Impact of Bilingualism and Diglossia in Cantabria (Spain) during Late Antiquity

The arrival of Latin to the Iberian Peninsula in the third century B.C.E. contributed to the rapid decline and extinction of indigenous languages in highly Romanized areas in the center and the south. At the same time, a limited Roman presence in remote places ensured the survival of indigenous languages, which placed them into contact with spoken Latin. Such was the case in the northern peninsular region of Cantabria during late antiquity. As a result of the unique trajectory of Roman conquest and colonization, contact occurred over the course of several centuries between Latin and the indigenous Cantabrian language (hereafter ICL). This contact may be understood in terms of the type that has been described by linguists involving high-culture and low-culture languages and, in particular, parallels may be established with the contact that has occurred between Spanish and Guaraní in Paraguay. Epigraphic and toponymic evidence from Cantabria suggests that the coexistence of high- and low-culture languages in late antiquity, as in Paraguay many centuries later, involved bilingualism and diglossia. This linguistic environment created the conditions for a low-culture influence of ICL on the evolution of Cantabrian Latin that may be understood in terms of the influence of Guaraní on Paraguayan Spanish.

The modern Spanish Autonomous Community of Cantabria (whose capital city is Santander) is geographically smaller than it was when the Romans completed their conquest of the region in 19 B.C.E. José Iglesias Gil establishes that southern Cantabria during this period in history included parts of the modern provinces of Palencia and Burgos, and Joaquín González Echegaray concurs in establishing that the Cantabrian frontier extended some eighty km to the southwest and some twenty km to the south.[1] After Cantabria was conquered it remained virtually free of Roman settlements for some time as revealed by contemporary sources. According to Pliny's *Naturalis Historiae* of the first century C.E., the city of Juliobriga, which was founded soon after the decade-long war, was at the time the only significant population center in Cantabria.[2] Writing during the following century, Ptolemy lists in his *Geographia* the names of nine cities in-

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1 José M. Iglesias Gil, *Epigrafía cántabra* (Santander: Diputación Provincial de Santander, 1976), 32; Joaquín González Echegaray, *Los cántabros* (Madrid: Guadarrama, 1966), 21 and 87.
2 "nam in Cantabricis VII populis Iuliobriga sola memoretur" (C. Plini Secundi [Pliny], *Naturalis Historiae*, ed. Carolus Mayhoff, 6 vols. [Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1967], vol. 1, 243).

cluding Juliobriga and three others, Ottaviolca, Camarica, and Moroeka, which also may have been small settlements established after the Roman conquest.[3] These toponyms do not appear in Ptolemy and in lapidary inscriptions until the second century C.E. and it would be logical to speculate that their foundation and development into regional urban centers was tied to economic interests. This theory is reinforced by the fact that Juliobriga and Ottaviolca became stops on a Roman commercial route, known as the "Itinerario de barro," which is depicted on four clay tablets. The Itinerario de barro extended from a coastal settlement, Portus Blendium (modern day Suances) and passed through Juliobriga and Ottaviolca before continuing westward to Astorga.[4] After the Roman conquest of Cantabria additional populations also appeared due to commerce, and the growth of the few known coastal settlements such as Portus Blendium was undoubtedly related to the prosperity of mining in the vicinity. Although these populations attest to some level of urbanization, the significance of such a low number of Roman settlements in a region of approximately 5,500 square km stands out when compared to what occurred in the southern Iberian Peninsula where, for example, four Roman cities (Augusta Emerita, Geraea, Norba Caesarina, and Caecilia Gemellina) are recorded by Ptolemy in an area of less than half the size of Cantabria around the modern Spanish city of Mérida.[5]

The concentration of Juliobriga, Ottaviolca, and Vellica in southern Cantabria was essentially a continuation of a situation that had existed since pre-Roman times, when the principal concentrations of indigenous tribes formed southern fortress-settlements.[6] At the same time, indigenous tribes were scattered throughout Cantabria as revealed in the first century C.E. by the Roman geographer Pomponius Mela.[7] Ptolemy mentions Cantabrian cities named after indigenous tribes (the Orgenomescos and Vadinienses), which were two of the many tribal names also recorded in lapidary inscriptions. Analysis of lapidary inscriptions has proven useful in partial reconstructions of Iberian and Celtiberian, indigenous peninsular languages that were replaced by Latin by the first

3 Claudii Ptolemaei (Ptolemy), *Geographia*, ed. C. F. A. Nobbe (Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1990), 90.
4 On the "Itinerario de barro," see Francisco Diego Santos, *Epigrafía romana de Asturias* (Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1985), 257–72.
5 Ptolemy, *Geographia* (see note 3), 82.
6 Joaquín González Echegaray, *Cantabria antigua* (Santander: Tantín, 1986), 108.
7 Pomponius Mela, *De Chorographia Libri Tres*, ed. Gustav Parthey (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1969), 65.

century C.E.[8] These partial reconstructions have been facilitated by the fact that Iberian and Celtiberian possessed written alphabets and inscriptions were composed in these languages, which did not occur among speakers of ICL. However, Latin inscriptions may also be analyzed as a source for non-Latin features that derive from indigenous languages, as Jordán Colera has established in his reconstruction of Celtiberian.[9] In this context, it is instructive to point out that a partial reconstruction of ICL based on Latin inscriptions has a significant precedent. In the case of Basque, like ICL a northern peninsular pre-Roman language without a written alphabet, such inscriptions, along with references in classical sources and toponyms, are the sole sources of information that scholars since Luis Michelena have utilized in order to reconstruct the Basque language of late antiquity.[10]

While some preliminary analysis of Cantabrian sources has been made by Antonio Tovar, Cantabrian Latin inscriptions have not previously been analyzed in depth with respect to what they reveal about ICL.[11] One issue that remains unresolved is whether ICL was an Indo-European or a pre-Indo-European language, and scholars have advanced both theories. Tovar posits that the language spoken in Cantabria upon the arrival of Roman troops (what I term ICL) originated in an Indoeuropeanization of the Peninsula that occurred around 1000 BC.[12] Rafael Lapesa concurs with Tovar that ICL was Indo-European while asserting that the "previous substratum of the region seems to have been similar to Basque."[13] Ernst Gamillscheg also discusses a relationship between ICL and Basque, although he considers ICL to be a dialect of ancient Ligurian—in Gamillscheg's view a pre-Indo-European language—which was spoken along a region that stretches around the northern Mediterranean coast, including parts of what is today southeastern France and northwestern Italy.[14]

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8 On Iberian, see Javier Velaza Frías, *Epigrafía y lengua ibéricas* (Madrid: Arco, 1996). On Celtiberian, see Carlos Jordán Cólera, *Celtibérico.* Monografías de Filología Griega, 16 (Zaragoza, 2004).

9 Jordán Cólera asserts that such Latin inscriptions provide "testimonios directos," or direct evidence, of Celtiberian (*Celtibérico* [see note 8], 15).

10 Luis Michelena, *Fonética histórica vasca* (San Sebastián: Diputación de Guipúzcoa, 1961).

11 Antonio Tovar, *Cantabria preromana* (Madrid: Publicaciones de la Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo, 1955).

12 Tovar, *Cantabria preromana* (see note 11), 11.

13 Rafael Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española.* Biblioteca Románica Hispánica (Manuales), 45, 9th ed. (1942; Madrid: Gredos, 1988), 38.

14 Ernst Gamillscheg, *Romanen und Basken* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1950), 22. Yakov Malkiel also posits a pre-Indo-European origin for ancient Ligurian (Yakov Malkiel, "Old and New Trends in Spanish Linguistics," *Studies in Philology* 49 [1952]:

The geographic proximity of Cantabria and the Basque Country leaves little doubt that linguistic contact occurred, with the impact of Basque revealed, for example, in Cantabrian toponyms of Basque origin, (Ibio, Laredo, Selaya, etc.).[15] Further evidence of this contact is seen in toponyms such as Hontoria (which derives from the Latin term *Fonte Aurea*), whose initial H- attests to an aspirated articulation that also links ILC to Basque, as Menéndez Pidal has established.[16] Menéndez Pidal asserts that speakers of ICL, like speakers of Basque, lacked a phoneme equivalent to the Latin labiodental initial f- (in words such as *facere*), which was articulated in ICL as an aspirated initial *h-* that extended to parts of modern Aragón, Burgos, and La Rioja.[17] This aspirated h- was the norm until after the Middle Ages, when the aspirated sound was replaced by Ø as it remains in modern Castilian (in words such as *hacer* [aʹθer]), although the aspirated h- survives in modern Cantabrian speech (known as "Montañés") as a "rather harsh sound originating deep in the throat."[18] While phonological features in common confirm the relationship between ICL and Basque, the origin of both languages remains a mystery.

Some dissimilarity between Latin and ILC is evident in Pomponius Mela's comment that native speakers of Latin found the names of Cantabrian tribes and rivers difficult to pronounce.[19] Although ICL did not survive the Middle Ages, it was spoken long enough after the completion of the Roman conquest to impact spoken Latin, which occurred as Cantabrians gradually replaced ICL with Latin. As this process evolved, features of ILC were preserved as interferenc-

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437–58; here 454). Other specialists have called Gamillscheg's theory into question and have classified ancient Ligurian as an Indo-European language. For an assessment of this debate, see Bernard Mees, "A Genealogy of Stratigraphy Theories from the Indo-European West," *Language Contacts in Prehistory: Studies in Stratigraphy*, ed. Henning Anderson (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamin, 2003), 11–44; here 16–18.

15 See Tovar (*Cantabria preromana* [see note 11], 13–17) for more on Cantabrian toponyms that reveal Basque features. Lapesa, *Historia* (see note 13), 32–33, theorizes the existence of a pre-Cantabrian Basque speaking population that inhabited northern Spain and that left its imprint in Asturian, Cantabrian, Leonese and Galician toponyms.

16 Hontoria names a town that lies today in Asturias but that was within the previous limits of Cantabria, whose western fringe extended in late antiquity to the Sella River, some fifteen km to the west of Hontoria (Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del español*, 6th ed. [1926; Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1968], 219–20).

17 Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes* (see note 16), 219–23.

18 Jonathan Carl Holmquist, *Language Loyalty and Linguistic Variation: A Study in Spanish Cantabria* (Dordrecht: Foris, 1988), 11. For more on Montañés, see Adriano García Lomas, *El lenguaje popular de la Cantabria montañesa* (Santander: Estudio, 1999).

19 "Cantabrorum aliquot populi amnesque sunt sed quorum nomina nostro ore concipi nequeant" (Mela, *De Chorographia* [see note 7], 65).

es in Latin inscriptions as well as in Cantabrian toponomy. These sources constitute a corpus of evidence that derives from throughout the geographical area described by González Echegaray and Iglesias Gil. The fact that the same interferences are found in inscriptions from different parts of Cantabria suggests a language common to tribes referred to collectively as *Cantabri* by Pomponious Mela and Pliny.[20]

Sara Thomason and Terrence Kaufman link phonological interferences similar in nature to those I will identify to the same type of prolonged bilingualism involving language contact that occurred between ICL and Latin during late antiquity.[21] The fact that about a third of the Latin inscriptions catalogued by González Echegaray were found in extreme southern Cantabria indicates that contact between ICL and Latin appears to have been most frequent in that region, in particular in the area around Vellica, the ninth Cantabrian city mentioned by Ptolemy.[22] This city was located on the plain below or on top of a summit, Monte Cildá, which today forms part of Palencia but which was a Cantabrian fortress in pre-antiquity before being taken by the Romans in 25 B.C.E. Vellica, which is listed as a stop on the "Itinerario de barro," was most likely an expansion of a previously existing indigenous community that occurred in conjunction with commerce moving to the coast along a Roman *calzada*, sections of which are still preserved in southern Cantabria. Contact between Latin and Cantabrian would have been frequent through this corridor as revealed by the circulation of artifacts (such as coins) that, as González Echegaray asserts, "testifies to the commercial contacts between legionnaires and civilians" (translation mine).[23] Latin was undoubtedly a *lingua franca* along the trading route running from southern Cantabria to the northern coast during late antiquity, although to a much lesser extent than in the center and south of the Peninsula. In these regions, intense Romanization contributed to the extinction of languages such as Iberian and Celtiberian, an extinction that would not occur in Cantabria during late antiquity.

The coexistence of Latin and ICL during late antiquity is attested by phonological interferences within Latin inscriptions found during the 1960s on funer-

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20 Mela, *De Chorographia* (see note 7), 65; Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae* (see note 2), vol. 1, 353 – 54.
21 Sarah Grey Thomason and Terrence Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 37, 41.
22 González Echegaray, *Los cántabros* (see note 1), 288 – 329; Ptolemy, *Geographia* (see note 3), 90.
23 "prueba de los contactos comerciales entre legionarios y civiles" (González Echegaray, *Cantabria antigua* [see note 6], 117).

ary tablets that were used by the Romans to build a defensive wall around the Monte Cildá fortress-settlement. This wall was built in the first century C.E. and enlarged on several occasions during the following centuries.[24] The importance of epigraphy as a source for identifying generalized phonological changes in peninsular spoken Latin has been demonstrated by Isabel Velázquez Soriano in her study of Visigothic inscriptions found on tablets from the sixth through the eighth centuries.[25] In the case of inscriptions found at Cildá, the most obvious sign that non-Latin vocalic tendencies caused an impact in spoken Latin is seen in the confusion among Latin case endings. This phenomenon occurred throughout the Roman Empire among Latin speakers who learned grammar aurally, without the visual reinforcement provided by written texts, and who were thus susceptible to confusing meanings of words with identical final vowels. Some of this confusion was resolved in Cantabrian Latin by the use of a final -u.

Evidence of interferences in spoken Latin caused by a Cantabrian final -u surfaces in lapidary inscriptions from Cildá, including one in which a -u is employed to indicate the regional articulation of the accusative plural ending -os: DIM / L LESVSPINE TIS/VMEGONIV / SVE MIMO/RA ANOR / NVMERV. A reading of this inscription, in which abbreviated terms are indicated by parentheses and U is employed instead of V, is offered by the team who discovered it lead by Miguel Ángel García Guinea: DI(IS) M(ANIBUS) L(UCIAE) LESUSPIN(A) TISUMEGO-NIU(M) SUE MIMORA AN(N)OR(UM) NUMERU.[26] This inscription was created in order to commemorate the memory of Lucia Lesuspina Tisumegonium, with the phrase AN(N)OR(UM) NUMERU indicating some type of anniversary (perhaps that a year had elapsed since her death). The individual who made the inscription used the desinence -u (NUMERU) for the accusative plural form of a second declension noun, NUMERUS, which is not only a grammatically incorrect desinence because it is not -os (the correct form is the accusative plural NUMEROS) but which is also noteworthy insofar as no desinence -u exists in this particular declension.[27] In other words, this individual used a desinence that reflected a

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24 For a discussion of dating of these inscriptions to this period, see Miguel Ángel García Guinea, Joaquín González Echegaray and J. A. San Miguel Ruiz, *Excavaciones en Cildá, Olleros de Pisuerga (Palencia), campañas de 1963 – 65*. Excavaciones arqueológicas en España, 61 (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Dirección General de Bellas Artes, Servicio Nacional de Excavaciones Arqueológicas, 1966), 21 – 25.

25 Isabel Velázquez Soriano, *Las pizarras visigodas* (Madrid: Fundación Instituto Castellano y Leonés de la Lengua, Real Academia Española, 2004). For example, Velázquez Soriano finds such evidence for the palatalization of consonants (*Las pizarras visigodas*, 495).

26 García Guinea, González Echegaray and San Miguel Ruiz, *Excavaciones* (see note 24), 39.

27 The singular desinences are: (nom.) -US, (gen.) -I, (dat.) -O, (acc.) -UM, (abl.) -O. The plural desinences are: (nom.) -I, (gen.) -ORUM, (dat.) -IS, (acc.) -OS, (abl.) -IS.

Cantabrian articulation of -os or -us (in the latter case, if the individual confused -us with -os) as -u.

The employment of this final -u as a morphological marker is a Cantabrian tendency that undoubtedly preceded the introduction of Latin and that can be documented from the early centuries of the Common Era until today, when it remains, as Jonathan Holmquist has observed, "the most outstanding feature of Cantabrian speech," or "Montañés."[28] Montañés is most widely spoken today in the rural regions of Tudanca (in the west) and Valle de Pas (in the east), although its features are preserved in speech throughout Cantabria.[29] Many centuries after the final -u and final -o in Castilian ultimately fused into final -o during the late Middle Ages, the final -u is preserved in Montañés as a morpheme to indicate the masculine gender of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and past participles that are pronounced in modern Castilian with a final -o (for example, *corderu* [mont.] vs. *cordero* [cast.], *sueñu* [mont.] vs. *sueño* [cast.], *vientu* [mont.], vs. *viento* [cast.]).[30] Manifestations in modern Montañés of the final -u share a tendency toward moving the point of articulation forward, and may be related to a pre-Roman -u depicted by Ángel López García as "labialized and open, mid-way between the anterior and posterior [vocalic] groups" (translation mine).[31] This indigenous Cantabrian sound may have been similar to the final -u in Latin apocopic accusative forms that typically lost the final -m in spoken Latin, such as *ventu*.

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28 Holmquist, *Language Loyalty* (see note 18), 10.

29 On the speech of Tudanca, see Ralph Penny, *Estudio estructural del habla de Tudanca* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1978). On the speech of Vega de Pas, see Ralph Penny, *El habla pasiega: Ensayo de dialectología montañesa* (London: Tamesis, 1969).

30 On the fusion of final -*u* and final -*o* into final -*o* in Castilian during the late Middle Ages, see Paul M. Lloyd, *From Latin to Spanish*. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, 173 (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1987), 187–88. For a vision of the extent to which the final -*u* was used in Cantabrian speech during the 1930s, see maps 8, 25, 27, 33, 37, 48, 55, 58, 59, and 65 of the *Atlas lingüístico de la Península Ibérica*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1962). As in Castilian, in Montañés the feminine gender of nouns is indicated with a final -*a* (*casa*, *oficina*, etc.). Penny identifies one final -*u* in Tudanca as a high back closed vowel (the same as the Castilian [u]) in addition to another final -*u* that is more opened and centralized than [u] (*Estudio estructural* [see note 29], 24). Penny describes the final -*u* in the speech of the *pasiegos* who reside in Valle de Pas as a sound made by "moving the position of the tongue a little forward and lightly narrowing the gap between the lips" (translation mine; "adelantando algo el punto de articulación y estrechando sensiblemente los labios" [*El habla pasiega* (see note 29), 50]).

31 "labializada y abierta [que] se encuentra situada a medio camino entre la serie anterior y la posterior" (Ángel López García, "Simetría, asimetría y disimetría en el vocalismo iberorrománico," *Archivum* 27–28 (1977–1978): 293–334; here 300).

What can thus be classified as an indigenous final -u also logically reveals that the vocalic system of ICL possessed a high-back vowel /u/, one of the elements it shared in common with the "seven-vowel system ... often referred to as the 'Vulgar Latin vowel system,' which was used by much of the Latin-speaking world, including Spain" (consisting of /i/, /e/, /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/, /o/, /u/).[32] The existence in ICL of a low central vowel similar to /a/ is apparent in Latinized tribal names such as *Amocensi* and *Avitacon*, which also suggest that ICL possessed mid vowels.[33] At the same time, sufficient evidence has not yet surfaced to allow for a determination of whether both high-mid and low-mid vowels were components of ICL as in the Vulgar Latin vowel system. A possibility that merits consideration is that speakers of ICL did not distinguish mid vowels by degrees of aperture, and that ICL thus contained two mid vowels within a five vowel system.

Contact between Basque and ICL may have encouraged the development of two mid vowels in ICL, a possibility that is suggested by the tribal name *Pendieginopom*. The sequence -ie- appears to be one of the typical on-gliding diphthongs produced in dialects of spoken Latin that evolved into the Romance languages (as in PETRA>*piedra* [Span.], *pierre* [Fr.], *pietra* [It.]). Emilio Alarcos Llorach asserts that the reason this phenomenon occurred in Castilian was the absence of a distinction between high-mid and low-mid vowels in indigenous languages such as Proto-Basque (which was spoken from the third century BC until the early Middle Ages).[34] In his seminal study, *Fonética histórica vasca*, Michelena posits that the vocalic system of Proto-Basque differed little from that of today, and consisted of five vowels.[35] According to Alarcos Llorach, the on-glid-

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32 Ralph Penny, *A History of the Spanish Language*, 2nd ed. (1991; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 47.

33 The Cantabrian tribal and given names mentioned in the present study are found in lapidary inscriptions from the Roman period, which are transcribed in González Echegaray (*Los cántabros* [see note 1], 288 – 329).

34 Emilio Alarcos Llorach, "Quelques precisions sur la diphtongaison espagnole," *Omagiu lui Iorgu Iordan*, ed. A. Rosetti (Bucharest: Academiei Republicii Populare Romine, 1958), 1 – 4. The region of Castile, which became an independent kingdom in the eleventh century, is considered to have formed within a territory that included lands within the aforementioned southern and southwestern limits of Cantabria during late antiquity. Specialists in Spanish historical linguistics are generally in accordance with this view (for example, "The area that became Castile was originally a small region just south of the Cantabrian chain, west of the valleys of Mena, Losa, and Valdegovia" [Paul M. Lloyd, "Where Spanish Came From: The Birth of Castile," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133.3 [1989]: 360 – 69; here 363]; Penny describes the region as "the Burgos area of southern Cantabria" [*A History* (see note 32), 18]).

35 Michelena, *Fonética* (see note 10), 47. Michelena repeats this assertion in a subsequent study: "Ancient Basque [i.e., Proto-Basque] had a system of five vowels with three degrees of aperture, very similar to the Castilian system and to that of the great majority of the modern di-

ing diphthongs /ie/ and /ue/ in modern Castilian resulted from attempts by speakers of these indigenous languages (which would naturally include ICL) to reproduce the low-mid vowels by opening the endings of their indigenous mid vowels, with the process of opening leading to the creation of /ie/ (/ɛ/> [eɛ]>[iɛ]>[je]) and /ue/ (/ɔ/>[oɔ]>[uɔ]>[wo]>[we]).

The sequence -ie- in Cantabrian epigraphy may therefore be an early manifestation of an articulation on the path toward becoming the diphthong /ie/ in regional speech that was produced by contact between spoken Latin and ICL. The extension of this diphthong throughout a good part of Cantabria is indicated by the appearance of the same vocalic sequence -ie- in the surname *Pentovieco*, whose genitive form (-ieci) is employed in the following inscription on a tablet found in the Cantabrian village of Luriezo (located in the far west of Cantabria), which was cut during the first centuries C.E.: MON(UMENTUM) AMBATI PENTO-VIECI AMBATIQ(UM) PENTOVI F(ILII) AN(NORUM) LX HOC MON(UMENTUM) POS(UERUNT) AMBATUS ET DOIDERUS F(ILII) SUI.[36] After passing through the voicing that typically occurred to intervocalic consonants in popular speech (in this case /k/>/g/), -ieco became the suffix -iego, which is widely used today in Montañés (*ariego*, *lebaniego*, *madriego*, *moriego*, *pasiego, poliego*, *raspaniego*, *ronciego*, *serpentiego*, *sobriego*, *tardiego*, etc.) and which has survived in Castilian in a few instances (*andariego*, *mujeriego*, *palaciego*, *solariego*) as evidence of the legacy of ICL. The significance of two examples of the sequence -ie- in Cantabrian inscriptions from late antiquity is magnified when it is considered that multiple examples of what are believed to be the Castilian diphthong /ie/ do not appear in peninsular Latin until the sixth and seventh centuries C.E., a fact upon which Paul Lloyd bases his supposition that "the stage of semidiphthongization may have begun in the third or fourth centuries and was then subject to further evolution according to the special conditions of each Romance-speaking region."[37]

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alects of Basque" (Luis Michelena, "The Latin and Romance Element in Basque," *Towards a History of the Basque Language*, ed. José Ignacio Hualde, Joseba Lakarra, and R. L. Trask. Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, 131 [Amsterdam and Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins, 1995], 137–69; here 141).

36 On the inscription from Luriezo, see Eduardo Jusué, "Lápida cántabro-romana hallada en Luriezo, provincia de Santander," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 47 (1905): 304–08. Tovar calls this inscription "the most irrefutable proof of the fusion of Cantabrian with Latin" (translation mine; "el monumento más fehaciente de la fusión del cántabro con el latín" [Tovar, *Cantabria prerromana* (see note 11), 32]).

37 Lloyd, *From Latin* (see note 30), 130.

With regard to the character of what he calls the "stage of semidiphthongization," Lloyd, who expands on conclusions reached by Palle Spore, describes its Castilian manifestation as a:

> slight alteration .... [or] exaggeration of the initial part of the vowel [that] produced a greater closure that eventually turned into a palatal or labio-velar semiconsonant [j w]. However, this would not mean that the higher portions of the vowel were identified with any other element in the phonological system, such as the palatal consonant /j/ or the vowels /i/ or /u/ until a much later period. These semidiphthongs and the resulting diphthongs continued to function as separate phonemes rather than as combinations of phonemes until quite late.[38]

Lloyd sees a "slight alteration" as triggering a process that culminated in the diphthong /ie/ (or [je]) in terms such as *andariego* [anda'rjeɣo]. Lloyd's assertion that this process "would not mean that the higher portions of the vowel were identified with any other element in the phonological system ... until a much later period" is borne out by the sequence -ie- in *Pendieginopom* and *Pentovieci*, in which the grapheme -i- may represent an indigenous vocalic sound that anticipated the palatal semiconsonant (or yod [j]) that forms the onset of [je]). In light of the early date of the Cantabrian inscriptions it would be logical to link this feature to a characteristic of the vocalic system of ICL, and, in a broader context, to what this reveals about the behavior of ICL vowels in different linguistic environments. Tribal names such as *Polecensium* contain what seems to approximate the mid-front vowel /e/ in mid-word positions, and the absence of the grapheme -i- indicates that the stress in such cases fell on a sound transcribed in Latin as a mid-back vowel -o- (in this instance, the original form of the tribal name without the Latin desinence was transcribed as *Polecensi*).

An interesting possibility to explain this difference in stress is that what appear to be interior segments of names such as *Pendieginopom* and *Pentovieci* are actually terms beginning with a word-initial yod (*ieginop* and *iec*, respectively), which may have carried the adjectival connotation of the modern suffix -iego (conveying the meaning of "pertaining to" or "given toward"). Ander Egurtzegi explains that the word-initial yod was a feature of Old Proto-Basque, which was spoken prior to the third century B.C.E.[39] Because the word-initial yod

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38 Lloyd, *From Latin* (see note 30), 121. Palle Spore, *La diphtongaison romane.* Etudes romanes de l'Université d'Odense, 3 (Odense: Odense University Press, 1972).

39 Ander Egurtzegi, "Phonetics and Phonology," *Basque and Proto-Basque: Language-Internal and Typological Approaches to Linguistic Reconstruction*, ed. Mikel Martinez-Areta. Mikroglottika, 5 (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2013): 119–72; here 137–38. On Old Proto-Basque, see Joseba

"was peripheral to the root as well as to the stress ... word initial segments were the most susceptible to suffering different kinds of deletion, including those deletions yielding consecutive vowels that would later become diphthongs."[40] However, the dipthong /ie/ did not exist in Old Proto-Basque and the sequence -ie- in *Pendieginopom* and *Pentovieci* should thus be understood as an element that distinguished ICL from Basque.[41] The existence of the sequence -ie- in ICL does not, of course, rule out the possibility that ICL shared with Basque a word-initial yod. The sequence -ie- in *Pendieginopom* and *Pentovieci* might therefore be a component of indigenous terms (transcribed as *ieginop* and *iec*) that fused onto tribal names and surnames and became a morpheme when transcribed in Latin by Cantabrians, as such anticipating the use of the suffix -iego in Montañés and Castilian.

One additional feature shared by the vocalic systems of ICL and Basque involved mid vowels. In light of the fact that tonic mid vowels in modern Basque are raised, in particular when such vowels are "in stem-final position," it is logical to speculate that the same tendency characterized ICL.[42] For example, the Basque word for forest, *baso*, demonstrates this tendency in the raising of /o/ to /u/ in *basua* ("the forest").[43] The existence of this tendency in ICL may explain a phenomenon that occurred when Cantabrians articulated Latin terms such as the toponym *Campoo*, which names many Cantabrian municipalities and towns.[44]

Campoo, which derives from the Latin term *Campodium*, lacks the diphthong /ue/ typically produced by the stress put on the Latin mid-open vowel Ŏ before a yod, a diphthongization that occurs, as Menéndez Pidal observes, in "all the regions that border Castile" (translation mine).[45] In other words, the Latin vowel Ŏ

A. Lakarra, "Reconstructing the Pre-Proto-Basque Root," *Towards a History of the Basque Language* (see note 35), 189 – 206.

40 Egurtzegi, "Phonetics" (see note 39), 138. Michelena asserts that "word-initial position is in Basque the position in which consonants are most likely to be lost" ("The Latin" [see note 35], 153).

41 Michelena lists /au/, /eu/, /ai/, /ei/, and /oi/ as the diphthongs in Proto-Basque, which may be understood to include Old Proto-Basque as well in light of his theory that the vocalic system of Basque has remained stable since ancient times (*Fonética* [see note 10], 87).

42 Egurtzegi, "Phonetics" (see note 39), 133.

43 *A Grammar of Basque*, ed. José Ignacio Hualde and Jon Ortiz de Urbina (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003), 47.

44 For example: Campoo de Suso, Campoo Cabuérniga, Campoo de Yuso, Campoo de Enmedio, Aguilar de Campoo (in modern day Palencia), and Valle de Campoo.

45 "todas las regiones que rodean a Castilla" (Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes* [see note 16], 143). Menéndez Pidal classifies this yod as a "yod tercera," or third yod (Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Manual de gramática histórica española*, 12th ed. [Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1966], 47 – 48).

was raised in the Cantabrian articulation of Latin, the legacy of which is pre-served in Cantabrian toponymy and modern Castilian. In the speech of the other regions to which Menéndez Pidal alludes, which also border Cantabria, contact between indigenous languages and Latin did not cause this raising and diphthongization occurred, thus establishing linguistic frontiers between ICL and those indigenous languages. Whereas in León a diphthong (Ŏ>/ue/) formed in the evolution of the Latin toponym *Arboleos*, which became (*Los*) *Argüellos*, and in the region of Asturias the Latin toponym *Foveu* became (*Los*) *Fueyos*, *Campodium* became *Campoo* in Cantabrian speech rather than *Campueyo*.[46] This resistance to the diphthongization of the mid-open vowel Ŏ in ICL may be the same reason that the Latin word *hodĭe* became *hoy* (without a diphthong) in Castilian and *uey* in Aragonese (and Leonese).

Features of the consonant system of ICL are also revealed in inscriptions from late antiquity. Phonemes whose articulation in Latin approximated /b/, /d/, /p/, /t/, /k/, and /m/ most likely existed in ICL as indicated by Latin tran-scriptions of tribal names. Sources suggest that ICL possessed a consonant clus-ter that was articulated similar to the Latin group -mb- (as in *camba* and *lam-bere*). This nasal-dental sequence is attested in Cantabrian tribal (*Pembelor*) and given names (*Ambatus*). In spoken Latin, the consonant group -mb- went through a process of assimilation that was completed during the Middle Ages and that resulted in the simple intervocalic consonant -m- in Castilian terms that evolved in common speech (*camba* [Lat.]>*cama* [Cast.], *lambere* [Lat.] >*lamer* [Cast.]).[47] At the same time, Montañés preserves the group -mb- in var-iants of terms of Latin origin (*camba* [Lat.]>*camba* [*mont.*], lambere [Lat.]>*lamber* [*mont.*]) and in a good number of derivatives registered by García Lomas (*cam-bacho*, *cambera*, *camberil*, *desencambar*, *encambar*, *lamburnio*, etc.).[48]

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46 Other examples include: *Beranué* (<VERANŎI), the name of a village in Alto Aragón, and *Caracuey* (<CARACŎI), a toponym mentioned in the thirteenth century by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada to name a village near Ciudad Real (Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Historia de Rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. Corpus Christianorum, 72 [Turnholt: Brepols, 1987], 129, 214). Moreover, according to Menéndez Pidal, "diphthongization before yod existed throughout the southern part of the Peninsula" (translation mine; "en todo el Sur peninsular ex-istía la diptongación ante yod" [*Orígenes* (see note 16), 142]).
47 Lloyd writes that the assimilation of /mb/ to /m/ "is not limited to Castilian but is found all over northeastern Iberia and in Gascony and much of southwestern France" (*From Latin* [see note 30], 264). Penny asserts that this assimilation was "limited to central and S. Italy and to central and E. Spain; [it is] not attested until after the Latin period" (*A History* [see note 32], 75).
48 García Lomas, *El lenguaje* (see note 18).

The most apparent conclusion to be drawn from such a variety of interferences is that they confirm the use of ICL contemporaneously to Latin. Further consideration of the evidence may reveal the presence in Cantabria of bilingualism or diglossia, or perhaps both, during late antiquity. Bilingualism is a term that refers to multilingual societies in which two or more languages are kept in frequent contact by speakers who learn both languages through formal (at school, while engaging in certain types of commerce, in church, etc.) and/or informal (at home, while celebrating local traditions, etc.) means and who are able to use both languages in a variety of contexts. The term diglossia refers to multilingual societies in which speakers, although able to employ a language in certain situations, will not be able to use that language as well as a bilingual speaker because of less exposure to it. Such speakers may be characterized as diglossic because they will use one language (typically learned in early childhood) fluently in certain contexts and a language learned at a later time less fluently in other contexts.[49] Diglossic speakers are often prevented (by geographical distance or economic obstacles) from experiencing the same opportunities to learn a language as bilingual speakers, although both types of speakers may exist within the same speech community.[50]

Bilingualism and diglossia are concepts that have been devised in order to describe modern multilingual speech communities that have been observed by linguists, although there is no reason not to employ these concepts to the study of speech communities that are known indirectly. For example, successful colonization throughout history has typically involved the imposition of a language whose adoption by a colonized population has depended on the extent to which the language of colonization is perceived as desirable to learn.[51] Wheth-

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[49] These concepts are defined in a similar manner by Dittmar, for whom bilingualism is a "linguistic situation where two or more languages coexist within the bounds of one society" and diglossia is "any situation where clearcut differences between linguistic systems correlate strictly with social class and/or class-governed social functions" (Norbert Dittmar, *Sociolinguistics: A Critical Survey of Theory and Application*, trans. Peter Sand, Pieter A. M. Seuren, and Kevin Whiteley [London: Edward Arnold, 1976], 170 and 176, respectively).

[50] I concur with Joshua Fishman in defining a speech community as one in which "all ... members share at least a single speech variety and the norms for its appropriate use" (Joshua A. Fishman, *The Sociology of Language: An Interdisciplinary Social Science Approach to Language in Society* [Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1972], 22). In the case of Cantabria during late antiquity, ICL may be considered as such a "single speech variety."

[51] Penny describes this process in Iberia in the following terms:

> The use of Latin was not enforced (and scarcely could have been), but was learned by the local populations, as a matter of convenience and prestige, from Roman settlers, administrators, soldiers, traders, etc .... Any such language-change implies bilingualism over at

er in an ancient or a modern context, a desire to learn a language of colonization involves enlisting that language as a component of what scholars typically refer to as high culture. It is therefore instructive to consider the linguistic milieu of Cantabria against the backdrop of Joshua Fishman's typology of societies in which two languages coexist, where one language is typically associated with high culture (for example, religion, education and sophisticated commerce), and another with low-culture domestic and informal contexts. Fishman posits that the contact, or lack of contact, between high-culture and low-culture languages can be explained in terms of bilingualism or diglossia, whose presence within the same speech community may be manifested according to Fishman's matrix consisting of four quadrants: 1. both diglossia and bilingualism; 2. bilingualism without diglossia; 3. diglossia without bilingualism; 4. neither diglossia nor bilingualism.[52]

One factor that must be considered is the necessary existence of at least pockets of diglossia in Cantabria. If some diglossia did not exist during late antiquity in Cantabria then Cantabrian would have probably disappeared before the inscriptions from Cildá were made. This scenario, which corresponds to Fishman's second quadrant (bilingualism without diglossia), is probably what occurred in places where intense Romanization resulted in the typical loss of low-culture indigenous languages. Thus it was that languages such as Celtiberian in the center and west of the Peninsula as well as Punic-Phonecian and Tartessian in the south disappeared in favor of Latin by the beginning of the first millennium. During the same period, the limited urbanization of Cantabria by the Romans would have contributed to the survival of ICL.

In light of Cantabrian diglossia, two of the quadrants described by Fishman ("bilingualism without diglossia" and "neither diglossia nor bilingualism") cannot be said to describe the co-existence of ICL and Latin. The third quadrant in Fishman's typology describes speech communities in which diglossia exists but not bilingualism. This situation arises, as Fishman asserts, between "two or more speech communities united politically, religiously, and/or economically into a single functioning unit notwithstanding the sociocultural cleavages that separate them."[53] These speech communities may be "united" only in the broadest

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least several generations, and since bilingualism persists today in the western Pyrenees it is likely that it persisted in other areas remote from the major Roman cities (that is, in parts of the north and west) at least until the end of the Roman period, in the fifth century, and in the remotest areas probably later (*A History* [see note 32], 8).

52 Fishman, *The Sociology* (see note 50), 91–106.
53 Fishman, *The Sociology* (see note 50), 98.

sense, with social divisions creating high- and low-culture languages associated with diglossia, and Fishman explains that what impedes bilingualism among speakers of the low-culture language is economic underdevelopment.[54] This may describe the scenario in remote regions of Cantabria for some time after the Roman conquest. Although Latin eventually displaced ICL throughout Cantabria, as it did everywhere on the Peninsula except for the Basque Country, some Cantabrian inscriptions, as I have explained, confirm that this displacement was a gradual process before bilingualism was achieved, which occurred over several centuries during which diglossia persisted.

As Fishman establishes, diglossia encourages the survival of low-culture languages insofar as those languages are learned at home by speakers who may achieve bilingualism through contact with high-culture languages outside of the home. According to Fishman: "In such communities each generation begins anew on a monolingual or restricted repertoire base of hearth and home and must be rendered bilingual or provided with a fuller repertoire by the formal institutions of education, religion, government, or work sphere."[55] Interferences in inscriptions from throughout late antiquity indicate that this was the manner by which some Cantabrians became bilingual. In the south what González Echegaray refers to as a small Cantabrian group of "élite romanizada," or Romanized elite, would have achieved bilingualism through the use of Latin while in close contact with such institutions, in particular the commerce that passed through the most Romanized part of Cantabria..[56] At the same time, there is evidence that in some areas diglossia existed (prior to bilingualism or monolingualism upon the extinction of ICL) due to limited exposure to Latin.

One of these areas was the Cantabrian coast, where artifacts encountered during the nineteenth century reveal that Romans operated mines in a region that offered minerals such as iron and lead.[57] While the presence of imperial administrators and engineers would have established Latin as a language of high culture, the Roman contingent was undoubtedly small, and the mines would have relied on indigenous labor. As González Echegaray explains, the Romans

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54 Fishman, *The Sociology* (see note 50), 101.

55 Fishman, *The Sociology* (see note 50), 97.

56 González Echegaray, *Cantabria antigua* (see note 6), 127.

57 On the Roman mines of Cantabria, see Lino Mantecón Callejo, "La minería romana en Cantabria," *Nivel Cero* 8 (2000): 37 – 58, and Mar Zarzalejos Prieto, Patricia Hevia Gómez, and Luis Mansilla Plaza, *Paisajes mineros antiguos en la Península Ibérica: investigaciones recientes y nuevas líneas de trabajo: Homenaje a Calude Domergue* (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2012), 177 – 79. Pliny underscores the abundance of minerals in Cantabria (*Naturalis Historiae* [see note 2], vol. 5, 220).

valued the skills of Cantabrian miners, and Latin inscriptions from late antiquity demonstrate that groups of Cantabrians worked in mines in other parts of the Peninsula.[58] In one of these inscriptions, found in the southern peninsular mine of El Centenillo (in the province of Jaén), evidence surfaces of the diglossic and bilingual character of Cantabrian speakers far from the southern commercial center.[59] The funerary inscription is dedicated to the memory of an individual named "Paternu" by a group pertaining to the Orgenomescos, an indigenous tribe that inhabited a settlement (Vereasueca) on the Cantabrian coast (perhaps modern day San Vicente de la Barquera).[60] The appearance of a final -*u* in this given name, that is, the use of a tendency from ICL in the articulation of a term of Latin origin ("Paternus"), suggests that ICL and Latin were also learned by Cantabrian mineworkers such as the individual named "Paternu" and the individual who cut the inscription. It would be logical to assume that such speakers, if they came from remote parts of Cantabria like the region around the coastal mines, went through stages of language learning similar to those described by Fishman whereby ICL was acquired as a first language "of hearth and home" and, after initial diglossia upon contact with Latin, bilingualism, or what Fishman calls a "fuller [linguistic] repertoire," was achieved.[61] In the case of the inscription from El Centenillo, this "fuller [linguistic] repertoire" might have involved learning Latin in conjunction with the techniques of mining. Whether or not these particular individuals were bilingual rather than diglossic is, of course, impossible to say. However, the Cantabrian final -*u*, a legacy from ICL, is a linguistic element that testifies to a speech community in which, over the course of centuries, each generation began anew, to paraphrase Fishman, on the path from becoming monolingual speakers of ICL to diglossic or bilingual speakers of ICL and Latin.

The first quadrant in Fishman's matrix describes situations in which speakers are both bilingual and diglossic. As an example, Fishman discusses the case of Paraguay, where contact between Spanish and an indigenous language, Guaraní, evolved for centuries along lines that recall the contact between ILC and spoken Latin. In particular, the parallel I establish involves the period from the arrival of the first Spaniards until 1992, during which time Guaraní was not taught in school and was learned at home as a language of daily use, with Guaraní existing into the late twentieth century as a low-culture language as

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58 González Echegaray, *Cantabria antigua* (see note 6), 116.

59 A transcription of this inscription is found in González Echegaray, *Los cántabros* (see note 1), 299.

60 González Echegaray, *Cantabria antigua* (see note 6), 111.

61 Fishman, *The Sociology* (see note 50), 97.

in the case of ICL during its entire existence.[62] Due to the fact that it was remote and did not possess mineral riches, the Spanish colony established in Paraguay during the mid-1600s never consisted of more than a relatively small number of native Spanish speaking Europeans in comparison to the number of Guaraní, the dominant indigenous community. Guaraní and ICL are therefore low-culture languages that survived colonization due to the peripheral colonial status of the regions in which they were spoken. Upon the Roman conquest of Cantabria in 19 B.C.E. the south experienced an intensified Latin presence with the sojourn of the Fourth Macedonian legion (near the modern day city of Aguilar de Campoo) for fifty years (until around 39 C.E.), which was likely the region's highest concentration of native Latin speakers.[63] This recalls the colonization of Paraguay, when initial parties of *conquistadores* were not followed by waves of immigrants and contact between Spanish and Guaraní occurred far from areas (such as coastal Colombia) where a constant traffic of Spanish immigrants reinforced the predominance of the high-culture language, resulting in what Grazziela Corvalán has called a "stratification system based principally on language" (translation mine).[64] As Riordan Roett and Richard Sacks explain, the native Spanish speaking population of colonial Paraguay was soon outnumbered by their children, *mestizos* who learned Guaraní as their first language, which forged the foundation for both diglossia and bilingualism in the modern Paraguayan speech community.[65]

In neither colonial Paraguay nor Cantabria was there a sufficient influx of native speakers of the high-culture language to establish a monolinguistic speech community at the expense of the indigenous language, and conditions were thus created in both situations for prolonged contact between high- and low-culture languages. During late antiquity, ICL was acquired at home, and diglossia prevailed in places where limited contact with the high-culture language persisted. These are the terms by which Roett and Sacks characterize the maintenance of diglossia in Paraguay, according to which "Spanish may carry more

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62 For a discussion of the low culture character into the second half of the twentieth century, see Joan Rubin, *National Bilingualism in Paraguay* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968). For the official policy on the institution of language instruction in Guaraní in Paraguay, see *Ministerio de Educación y Culto* (Asunción: Ministerio de Educación y Culto, 1993).

63 González Echegaray, *Los cántabros* (see note 1), 194–95.

64 "sistema diferenciado de estratificación basado principalmente en la lengua" (Grazziela Corvalán, *Paraguay: nación bilingüe* [Asunción: Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociológicos, 1981], 50).

65 Riordan Roett and Richard Scott Sacks, *Paraguay: The Personalist Legacy* (Boulder, San Francisco, and Oxford: Westview, 1991), 17.

status than Guaraní ... [although in] rural areas one encounters an almost entire-ly Guaraní-speaking culture. Spanish is spoken but often without much facility. People who can read Spanish aloud often have very little idea of what they are reading."[66] Notwithstanding one significant difference in the evolution of lan-guage contact in the two speech communities being compared—the fact that Guaraní did become a written language (on Jesuit missions) during the colonial period—it may be said that the difference between diglossic and bilingual speak-ers in both cases is determined by proximity to the high-culture language.[67]

As I explain above, inscriptions reveal that contact between ICL and Latin was most frequent in southern Cantabria, which is where bilingualism would have first been established. In Asunción, the most important urban commercial center of colonial Paraguay, the coexistence over several hundred years of Span-ish and Guaraní, and a lack of monolingual speakers of Spanish, also contribut-ed to bilingualism among speakers of high-culture and low-culture languages, and examples of phonological and morphological interferences are found in the speech of the city's residents.[68] Epigraphy from remote Cantabrian regions, where diglossia likely existed, reveals that interferences were also incorporated into the language of colonization. This situation is similar to rural Paraguayan diglossic speech whose development, as in the case of Roman mining, can also be tied to economic factors.

Although Paraguay was never a prosperous colony, commerce did fuel con-tact between Spanish and Guaraní through the colonial *encomienda*, the system by which Spanish were given the authority to exploit indigenous labor. Roett and Sacks explain that each Spanish *encomendero* acquired the rights to the labor of some sixty Guaraní, and that around "20,000 Indians were divided among the 320 surviving Europeans. Two types of *encomienda* sprang up: the *originario en-*

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66 Roett and Sacks, *Paraguay* (see note 65), 87.

67 Jinny Choi underscores the significance of the employment of Guaraní as a written language with the assistance of Jesuits, who "made an important contribution to Paraguayan bilingualism. The use of Guaraní and Spanish was common in *reducciones*, Jesuit mission villages. From their arrival to Paraguay in 1587, the Jesuits, instead of imposing the teaching of Spanish to the na-tives, encouraged them to read and write in their mother tongue. Thus Guaraní became the lan-guage of daily communication and religious rituals" (Jinny Choi, "Bilingualism in Paraguay: Forty Years after Rubin's Study," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 26 [2005]: 233–48; here 236). On the written status acquired by Guaraní, see Paulino Castañeda Delgado, "La iglesia y la corona ante la nueva realidad lingüística en Indias," *I Simposio de Fi-lología Iberoamericana* (Zaragoza: Pórticos, 1991), 29–42.

68 For examples of such interferences in urban and rural Paraguayan speech, see Germán de Granda, *Sociedad, historia y lengua en el Paraguay* (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1988), 84–94, 167–203.

comienda, which consisted of year-round unpaid servitude at the Spaniard's household; and the *mitaya encomienda*, which exacted a labor tax or *mita* once a year from outlying Indian villages."[69] The Guaraní who came into contact with the relatively few native speakers of Spanish upon being forced to work on Spanish *encomiendas* may have experienced language contact similar to that which occurred between the relatively small Roman contingent and Cantabrians employed in Roman iron and lead mines. Whereas inscriptions testify that interferences from ICL impacted Latin in remote parts of Cantabria, the legacy of language contact in remote parts Paraguay, where the *encomiendas* were located, are the interferences from Guaraní that permeate rural speech.

While scholarly opinions diverge concerning the future of contact between low-culture and high culture-languages in Paraguay there is general consensus that the form of Spanish spoken in Paraguay has been impacted by the region's colonial past. The influence of Guaraní on Paraguayan Spanish provides a window into late ancient Cantabria. As in the case of the impact of ICL on Latin, contact between Guaraní and Spanish in Paraguay has produced phonological and morphological interferences in Paraguayan Spanish that scholars have attributed to Guaraní. Examples of phonological interferences include the Paraguayan articulation of the Spanish alveolar trill /r/ as a simple vibrant in word-initial position described by Granda and, as identified by John Lipski, the prenasalization of "word-initial voiced obstruents, particularly /b/" and the "glottal stop which appears between words, particularly between a final consonant and an initial vowel, effectively impeding resyllabification."[70] With regard to morphological interferences, Granda finds a number of "Guaraní morphemes that function within the linguistic structure of Castilian in the same way and with the same meanings as in their language of origin" (translation mine).[71] The case of prenasalized /b/, which as Lipski observes is "a reflection of the fact that Guaraní has no simple voiced stops," may be said to parallel the adaptation among speakers of ICL of the Latin initial f- as an aspirated h-.[72] Similarly, the tendency toward the adoption of Guaraní morphemes analyzed by Granda recalls the suffixation of -iego in Spanish.

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69 Roett and Sacks, *Paraguay* (see note 65), 34, n. 9.

70 Granda, *Sociedad* (see note 68), 87–94; John M. Lipski, *Latin American Spanish* (London and New York: Longman, 1994), 309–10.

71 "morfemas guaraníes que funcionan dentro de la estructura lingüística castellana con la misma forma y los mismos valores con que lo hacen en la lengua de origen de los mismos" (Granda, *Sociedad* [see note 68], 169).

72 Lipski, *Latin American* (see note 73), 310.

The impact of Guaraní on Paraguayan Spanish, which Bartomeu Meliá called a "tercera lengua," or third language, well before Guaraní was declared an official national language in 1992, provides a modern correlate to a case from late antiquity.[73] The evidence heretofore considered indicates that bilingualism and diglossia can create the conditions necessary for phonological and morphological interferences to pass from a low-culture to a high-culture language. As exhibited by Cantabrian inscriptions and documented interferences in Paraguayan Spanish, key factors in the character of the language contact through which these interferences pass to a language of colonization are: a small number of monolingual speakers of a high-culture language of colonization and the consequential survival of an indigenous low-culture language among the majority of speakers; a prolonged period of bilingualism and/or diglossia; and the limited or relatively more cosmopolitan nature of the local economy.

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73 Bartomeu Meliá, "Hacia una 'tercera lengua' en el Paraguay." *Estudios paraguayos* 2.2 (1974): 31–71.

Diane Peters Auslander
(Lehman College, City University of New York)

"The Walling of New Ross," 1265

Multilingualism, Ethnicity, and Urban Politics in Post-Invasion Ireland

Multilingualism was the norm in the island of Britain at the time of the Cambro-Norman invasion of Ireland (1169–1171). Several of the languages prevalent in England and Wales were brought to Ireland with the invaders along with English linguistic hierarchies and cultural biases, such as the disdain for what many of them saw as the primitive religious and social practices of the Celts in general and the Irish in particular. Ireland may have been politically fragmented, but ethnic unity was provided by Irish law, the *áes dána* or people of learning, such as lawyers, judges, and bards, and, to a certain extent, the Irish language. As R. R. Davies states "the learned classes in Ireland ... used a single literary language whose origins date back to at least the sixth century and was practiced throughout the whole of Gaeldom for a millennium or more."[1] In order to produce their literature, however, Irish scholars had adapted the Latin alphabet to their language. Latin had been introduced to Ireland along with Christianity in the fifth and sixth centuries and was used, as it was everywhere in Christendom, as the language of the Church and of learning. So Ireland was at least bilingual prior to the ninth century.

Then, the Viking Norse who raided and eventually settled in Ireland in the ninth and tenth centuries brought their language with them. A relatively small number of Vikings settled in Ireland, as compared with elsewhere in the British Isles, and the language had a somewhat limited influence.[2] Nevertheless, it can be said that Ireland was multilingual before the Cambro-Norman invaders added French, or Anglo-Norman, Welsh, Flemish, and English to the mix in the latter half of the twelfth century. As Davies states "language is not apparently high on the agenda of issues of conflict between the peoples of the British Isles, between conquerors and conquered," at least it was not in the twelfth and perhaps most of the thirteenth centuries.[3] However, since cultural differences caused con-

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1 Robert Rees Davies, "The Peoples of Britain and Ireland. 1100–1400: IV Language and Historical Mythology." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 7 (1997): 1–24; here 4.
2 Dáibhí Ó Cróinín. *Early Medieval Ireland, 400–1200* (London and New York: Longman, 1995), 269–70.
3 Davies, "The Peoples of Britain" (see note 1), 3.

flict between the Normans and the Irish, language, a cultural marker, would become a problem for the settlers by the fourteenth century. Their languages were not the only potentially disruptive cultural elements the Cambro-Normans, or Anglo-Normans, brought with them. They also set about building power bases and communities that attempted to reproduce life in England. Perhaps the most alien aspect of these activities was the proliferation of towns built on the English model that sprung up mainly in the eastern and southern portions of Ireland. The Irish had had no towns at all before the coming of the Norse who established five trading towns on the coast of Ireland. The Norse towns were important but did not have the impact of the English towns that have been credited with the preservation of the English language, and thus with resistance to assimilation, in Ireland.

This chapter will highlight one town in particular, New Ross, and the poem that was written to commemorate the building of the town wall. Using this poem and its context, I will argue that "The Walling of New Ross," written in 1265, a hundred years after the invasion, reflects issues of ethnicity, language, social hierarchies, and inter-urban rivalries that seem to encapsulate some of the main conflicts involved in the Anglo-Norman settlement or colonization of Ireland and the culture clash that accompanied it. The poem also shows the fluidity of some social and linguistic categories in this time, prior to the fourteenth century, and place due to the frontier nature of the English settlement.

In medieval Ireland, the Irish language was mainly an ethnic identifier, as opposed to England where language served as both a mark of ethnicity and of class. Language also linked the Irish to other Celtic language speakers such as the Scots and the Welsh, especially during periods when these three societies were under pressure from English kings looking to expand their power and authority over all the British Isles. The use of Latin in medieval Ireland was an indication that the island was part of the Christian culture that linked all of Europe. In other words, Ireland was bilingual in the same way as every other European culture. The two languages were not rivals in any sense: each language served its own purpose and had its own place in society. Irish marked Ireland as having its own identity apart from mainstream Europe while Latin marked it as a part of the Christian culture of mainstream Europe. The Norse language, like the actions of the Norse speakers and the introduction of their culture, left some traces in Ireland, but they were well assimilated to Irish language and culture by the twelfth century. The Irish themselves had always been adept at conserving their own culture while absorbing useful elements from other cultures with which they had close encounters.

Their language, too, demonstrates resilience and flexibility as evidenced by the fact that it has survived hundreds of years of colonization and sporadic but

intense attempts to eradicate it. As John Carey states, the Irish had "a flexible appreciation of diversity, open to mysteries, tolerant of alternatives."[4] They displayed this appreciation and tolerance during the Viking Ages, when they subsumed Norse culture and language while adopting elements useful to them. The new invaders and settlers of the twelfth century might have been likewise assimilated if not for the English-speakers centered in the towns of Ireland.[5] These English speakers, while ethnically and linguistically mixed, did not have quite such a fine appreciation of diversity. They had their own social and language issues.

The several names used to refer to those who invaded Ireland in this period reveal that their ethnic and linguistic affiliations are highly diverse. A little background on the invasion is necessary here. The Cambro-Norman invasion of Ireland was by invitation. In 1166, Diarmait Mac Murchada, King of the province of Leinster, was forced out of his homeland by a coalition of rival forces. He went straight to Henry II of England, who was in Aquitaine at the time, to enlist his help. It would not have been considered unusual for this period, especially in Ireland, for a beleaguered king, or other leader, to seek help outside his own culture. Also, neither Diarmait nor Ireland itself were strictly 'insular.' The Norse towns of Ireland had long been engaged in international trade and Dublin, Wexford, and Waterford all had close mercantile relationships with Bristol and Chester. Diarmait's personal secretary, Morice Regan, was an Anglo-Norman speaker, who served as Diarmait's interpreter. The very name of this secretary testifies to interaction of at least some Irish with the Anglo-Norman world prior to the invasion. King Henry was unable to help Diarmait personally, but he gave the Irish king a general permission to recruit from among any of his barons who would agree to go. In Pembrokeshire in Wales, Diarmait recruited a group of lords and knights, chief among whom was the Cambro-Norman border lord Richard Fitzgilbert de Clare, Earl of Striguil, better known as Strongbow. Diarmait promised Strongbow his daughter, Aoife, in marriage and his kingdom upon his death in return for the earl's help.

Strongbow was the most significant of the lords to sign up for this expedition and his name helped attract others to the cause. Many of the knights and lords who answered Diarmait's call were of mixed Welsh and Anglo-Norman her-

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4 John Carey, *King of Mysteries, Early Irish Religious Writings* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 22.

5 Raymond Hickey, "Assessing the Relative Status of Languages in Medieval Ireland." *Studies in Middle English Linguistics*, ed. Jacek Fisiak (Berlin: Mouton, 1997), 1–21; here 12; see also the online version at. http://www.uni-due.de/DI/Relative_Status_of_Languages_in_Medieval_Ireland.pdf (last accessed on Oct. 14, 2014).

itage, i.e., Cambro-Norman. In the twelfth century, their Welsh/Celtic 'blood' could be something of a liability. This was a time when men like William of Malmesbury (1095/6 – 1143) were attempting to elide the cultural differences between Norman and English by emphasizing their similarities as compared to 'others', so that:

> As the country began to imagine itself a harmonious whole again, as Norman difference faded and English identity was reinvigorated, a host of others, both external to England (Welsh, Irish, and Scots barbarians) and living within (Jews), found themselves excluded by their supposedly patent and intractable differences, their monstrosity, their blood.[6]

The leading lords who advanced on Ireland were, therefore, ambivalent about their own ethnicity, preferring to present themselves linguistically and culturally as Anglo-Norman. Others among them were purely Anglo-Norman or Welsh, while still others were Flemish. The hyphenated terms we use today to indicate the mixed ethnicity of these peoples are convenient for us, but the invaders considered themselves 'English.'[7] Nevertheless, they were linguistically diverse in ways that also reflected class differences: all the knights spoke French or Flemish while their followers spoke English, Welsh, and Flemish. Theoretically, then, the elites did not identify themselves as English or Welsh speakers, while the commoners did not identify as French speakers, although at least some of both social classes probably spoke at least a little of both languages, English and French.

The main body of invaders arrived in Ireland in 1169 and quickly took the major Irish east coast towns of Waterford, Wexford, and Dublin, all of which were at the time still in Norse hands. Strongbow himself, not in Henry's good graces at the time, waited for permission from the king for him specifically to join the invasion, and did not arrive in Leinster until 1170 at which point he married Aoife and was named Diarmait's heir. In 1171 when Diarmait died, there was a dispute over Strongbow's kingship, but in the meantime, Henry II had become alarmed that his barons might be setting up a rival kingdom across the Irish Sea and in 1171 he mounted his own impressive expedition to Ireland where he took oaths of vassalage from his Anglo-Norman barons and many of the Irish kings. The rebellion against Strongbow was put down and de Clare himself became

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6 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Green Children from Another World," *Cultural Diversity in the British Middle Ages,* ed. id. The New Middle Ages Series (New York: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2008), 75 – 94; here 81.

7 Billy Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass: Anglo-Norman Wexford, 1169 – 1400* (Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford: Duffry Press, 2002), 34.

lord, not king, of Leinster as Henry's vassal. Henry also claimed all the territory his lords had taken including the Norse trading towns of Waterford, Wexford, Dublin, Cork, and Limerick for the crown.

The invasion of Ireland took place only one hundred years after the Norman invasion and conquest of England. The Norman Conquest had added one more language to bilingual England and multilingual Britain. The English, of course, had English and Latin, but were surrounded by the Welsh, Cornish, and Scottish speaking peoples of Britain, who also had Latin and, for many, English as well. As Davies states "diversity and multiplicity of languages were taken as the norm. Language uniformity was taken as an indication of weakness rather than of strength."[8] Perhaps the perceived weakness of monolingualism in a diverse society stems from the fact that language was a marker of social class in England and, therefore, monolingualism would indicate a weakening of the hierarchical social structure. In other words, even though Anglo-Norman and English cultures were merging, multilingualism marked divisions among social classes as well as between the conquered and the conquerors, divisions that were considered essential to individual identity. In England, as elsewhere, Latin retained the premier place in this linguistic hierarchy, but the French of England, or Anglo-Norman, held a close second place as the language of the elite, while English was for those of the lowest status. Under the Normans in England there was a proliferation of administrative documents mainly in French or Latin and the number of documents, both official and literary, in English declined.[9] According to Alexander Bergs and Laurel J. Brinton:

> Considering the attitudes to multilingualism in England, Machan (2003) provides evidence for the growing status of English as a "community-defining" language However, in their capacity as High languages, French and Latin functioned as sociolinguistic markers sustaining the hierarchical social structure of late medieval England.[10]

These linguistic functions of both English and French immigrated to Ireland with the English settlers. In Ireland another layer was added to the bottom of the social and linguistic hierarchy, a layer that was occupied, in the minds of the colonizers, by the language of the native Irish.

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8 Davies, *The Peoples of Britain* (see note 1), 4.

9 Terttu Nevalainen. "Historical Linguistics," *English Historical Linguistics,* vol. 2, ed. Alexander Bergs and Lauren J. Brinton (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 1438–56, here 1442–43.

10 Nevalainen. "Historical Linguistics" (see note 9), 1443.

As mentioned, the languages the Cambro-Norman lords and their followers brought to Ireland were French, English, Welsh, and Flemish. The Welsh language quickly disappeared without a trace. Flemish left some loan words that were detectable as late as the eighteenth century, but have since vanished, which leaves Middle English and Anglo-Norman French.[11] These new languages affected Irish Gaelic literature somewhat, but basically in this period the Irish continued to speak and write their own language. While written English is abundant in documents relating to commerce and administration, literary texts in English are scarce. They mainly comprise a group of sixteen fourteenth-century poems, generally religious in nature, that are called the *Kildare Poems*, although they probably originated in Waterford. According to Raymond Hickey, "If the language of the *Kildare Poems* is a genuine representation of medieval Irish English then it would seem that an amalgam of the various dialects which were spoken by English settlers had arisen by the early 14th century."[12] This amalgam coupled with characteristic Irish linguistic influence is what is called Hiberno-English.

There are many administrative and legal documents composed in French from this period, including the *Statutes of Kilkenny* that will be discussed later in this paper. However, literary texts in French are even scarcer than literature in English. The most well-known Hiberno-Norman literary work is "The Song of Dermot and the Earl," dating from around 1210, which deals with, and was composed immediately after, the invasion. "Dermot and the Earl" was dictated by Morice Regan, the Anglo-Norman-speaking secretary of Diarmait MacMurchada mentioned above.[13] The only other extant Hiberno-Norman literary work is the poem at the heart of this chapter and that is "The Walling of New Ross," composed around 1265 by an anonymous French-speaker identified by Keith Sinclair as a *trouvère*. "The Walling of New Ross" and another poem in French, called "Young Men of Waterford," which has been lost, were bound together with the Kildare poems in the same manuscript, Harley 913. So basically we only have two extant literary works in Hiberno-French: "The Song of Dermot and the Earl" and "The Walling of New Ross." But the introduction of French and English into Ireland had wider import than its written applications.

The French language and those who spoke it were dominant socially, culturally, and politically among the newcomers and in the territories they controlled. During most of the period at issue here, French is the hallmark of the ruling class

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11 Raymond Hickey, "Assessing the Relative Status" (see note 5), 1.

12 Hickey. "Assessing the Relative Status" (see note 5), 3.

13 As the poem states: *Morice regan iert celui / (buche a buche parla a lui) ki est jest endita: / histoire de lui me mostra:* From *A New History of Ireland:* Volume II: *Medieval Ireland, 1168 – 1534*, ed. Art Cosgrove (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 716.

and indicates its separateness from the common English-speaking settlers, not to mention the Irish. Additionally, language and class divisions play out geographically with the French-speaking elites for the most part settling on their estates in the rural areas with their English-speaking tenants and workers while the English-speaking artisans and merchants settled in the towns, both in the original Viking towns and the new towns that were springing up all over eastern and central Ireland. In this new colonial frontier, however, English is no longer at the bottom of the hierarchy. That place was taken by the Irish language. As mentioned, it is correlative that the English were no longer at the bottom of the social ladder as well since the Anglo-Normans had antipathy to the Irish and to Celts in general even before they conquered England in 1066 and that antipathy relegated the Irish to the bottom of the social barrel and allowed the English to rise in prestige.[14]

When they got to Ireland, the English not only ranked higher than the Welsh, but they were also well above the Irish. The Irish were systematically denigrated for their pastoralism, their traditional religious practices, and their social habits. Gerald of Wales (1146–1223), in particular, provided a language for this ethnic hostility. In *Topographia Hibernica*, Gerald exaggerates the pastoralism of the Irish to dehumanize them: "Just in case we have not yet got the point that there is something not fully human about the race, he [Gerald of Wales] adds, 'They are a wild and inhospitable people. They live on beasts only and live like beasts.'"[15] The Normans ignored the true situation in Ireland in favor of creating an exotic and barbarian 'other,' perhaps to justify their invasion and conquest and/or to foster unity among the diverse peoples identifying themselves as 'English'. They overlooked the fact that the Irish were participating in monastic and ecclesiastic reform and were developing the same political and social strategies and practices that existed throughout most of Europe. As Robin Frame states "we are, in short, in the presence of powerful cultural stereotypes, whose relationship to social realities is, to say the least, problematical."[16] In their rhetoric the Normans had transformed what had been the Isle of the Saints into the Isle of the Barbarians. Therefore, the Irish were looked down on by many of the new settlers. Ambitious English merchants and artisans were lured to the new towns being built in Ireland by promises of burgess status, land, and other freedoms that would promote prosperity and success. With the Irish as the new

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14 Hugh Thomas. *The English and the Normans, Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity 1066–c.1220* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 39.

15 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen. *Hybridity, Identity and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain* (New York: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2006), 87.

16 Robin Frame. *Colonial Ireland, 1169–1369* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), 5.

underdogs, the English in these towns could aspire to higher social status and greater independence than could have been achieved in England. This can be seen in the town of New Ross and the poem that town inspired.

Unsurprisingly, the "Walling of New Ross" tells the story of the building of a wall around the town of New Ross, which is on the River Barrow in southeast Wexford near the old Viking town of Waterford. In actuality the poem only deals with the digging of the fosse and doesn't get to the building of the wall at all. As mentioned previously, the five Viking ports were the only towns in Ireland when the invaders arrived and Henry II claimed them all as royal ports. According to Robin Frame, by the time Gerald of Wales visited Ireland in the 1180 s, "the most urbanized regions were already in Anglo-Norman hands: they were no longer part of the world of the Irish."[17] So we already see a geographical division between the English in the towns and the Irish in the countryside, which is complicated by the fact that the Anglo-Norman lords and their English servants and tenants also mainly occupied the countryside. The poem is thought to have been commissioned by the town to commemorate their construction of the wall. It seems unusual that a group of town-dwelling English speakers would commission such a poem to be composed in Hiberno-Norman, the language of the lordly class which had used that language to assert their superiority. However, as mentioned, commerce between the towns of Ireland and the Anglo-Norman world was well established. French was the language of commerce throughout most of Europe at the time. New Ross itself was a very important international port. At the time of the writing of the poem, the town was becoming a leading center of the wool trade.[18] The importance and diverse population of New Ross is indicated by the presence of six Italian customs collectors who were living in the town as consultants.[19]

It is possible that commissioning a poem in Hiberno-Norman French seemed natural to the townsfolk due to the cosmopolitan nature of port towns. I propose, however, that the decision to hire a French-speaking poet to compose such a poem was part of a strategy to further the socio-economic ambitions and aspirations of the people of New Ross. These aspirations were founded on the extreme success of cooperative efforts on the part of all citizens of the town to promote and sustain a high level of prosperity, despite the somewhat shady nature of some of their strategies.

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17 Frame, *Colonial Ireland* (see note 16), 6.
18 Sinclair, "The Walling of New Ross" (see note 20), 248.
19 Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass* (see note 7), 124.

In 1189, Aoife and Strongbow's daughter, Isabella, was given in marriage to England's greatest knight, William Marshall, by Richard I. Thus Marshall became Lord of Leinster and was transformed from a landless knight into the owner of huge properties in Ireland and England. Sometime before or around 1207, Marshall caused the town of New Ross to be built near the site of an old Irish monastery and Irish settlement. In 1210, he built a bridge there across the River Barrow, which brought New Ross fame and aided in its prosperity. In 1265, by which point the territory was in the hands of Roger Bigod, the son of William Marshall's granddaughter, the decision was made to build the wall. There seems to have been some urgency to the project, however: They didn't just want a wall—they wanted a wall quickly. As the poem states:

E [qant] avoint le mure merché	And when they had the wall marked
Pur overors unt tost mandé;	they summoned laborers directly;
Cent ou plus chescun jour	a hundred or more each day
I vont overerod grand honur.	Go and work there in fine style.
Les buries entur la fosse alerent,	The townsfolk went around the fosse,
E gent lowis poi espleiterent.	but the hired men got little done.
E al lure conseil realerent	They sat again in council
E un purveans purparlerent;	and discussed a plan,
Ke unkes tele purveyance	such a plan as never
Ne fu en Engleter ne en France.	was [put into effect] in England or France.[20]

The plan the council devised to speed up the building process was for the townspeople to build the wall themselves. The council called a moot and presented the plan to the town, which agreed to it. A work schedule was made up based on occupations with different groups working on different days. This is a unique arrangement as far as I know, but why the rush? One reason may very well be a matter of inter-urban rivalry.

New Ross is situated where the River Barrow joins the River Nore. It is further inland than the royal port of Waterford, which would seem to be better situated for foreign trade. However, New Ross became more convenient as a port than Waterford because the rivers allowed it to serve both as a sea port and a port for receiving goods from inland. It was only twenty miles on the Barrow from Marshall's Leinster capital of Kilkenny, which was a major market town. New Ross was quickly populated by mainly English immigrants from various professions: merchants, traders, artisans, merchant bankers, various low wage work-

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20 All excerpts from "The Walling of New Ross" are from Hugh Shields, trans. "The Walling of New Ross: a Thirteenth-Century Poem in French," *The Long Room* 12–13 (1975–1976): 24–33; here 28.

ers, and a few religious orders such as the Augustinian canons and, by the mid thirteenth century, the *Fratres Cruciferi*. The town was given a royal charter by King John and became the main port of the territory. However, charters and privileges granted to the town were quickly superseded by orders more favorable to the royal port of Waterford. Finally, Henry III issued new charters stipulating that most of the trading vessels were henceforth to put in at Waterford. This would seriously impact the prosperity of the town of New Ross and make it difficult for the townsfolk to realize their socio-economic ambitions. So New Ross began to engage in acts of piracy, attacking ships bound for Waterford and forcing them to tie up and unload at New Ross, which soon became the busiest port in Ireland. Here we see another instance of the town working together, as all levels of the New Ross citizenry seem to have been involved in this pursuit, which was so vital to their aspirations. In 1264, protests from Waterford were escalating. For example, this complaint involving a burgess from Bristol:

> His [the burgess of Bristol] ship came to Waterford laden with cargo and the citizens of Waterford sent a sergeant and party on board. The said burgesses of New Ross cursed, wounded and mistreated them, caused the death of the sergeant and the drowning of one in his group before the vessel was escorted to New Ross.[21]

This was serious and violent piracy and it was possible that legal or other action from Waterford or even the king may have been imminent. The building of a wall may thus have been in part to protect the citizens of New Ross from reprisals from Waterford and/or to protect their lucrative piratic activity. Whether that is true or not, accusations of piracy against the town continued and perhaps even increased after the wall was built with apparently no effective action taken by the English king to protect his royal port. This highlights the difficulty of enforcing the royal will in Leinster at this time and shows that even commoners were able to take advantage of this difficulty to further their own aims by whatever means necessary. Lack of royal supervision was also a result of the problems Henry III was having with his barons in England.

Henry relied on Ireland heavily for tax revenue. In the 1250s he had rewarded his loyal supporters with Irish land, which also served to form a kind of shield against the native Irish. This meant more English interference with the business of the Irish kings and increased pressure on the Irish in general. In the 1260s, however, Henry III's attention was engaged with the uprising of Simon de Montfort in England and squabbles among the Anglo-Norman lords in Ireland were

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21 Quoted in Keith Sinclair, "The Walling of New Ross: An Anglo-Norman Satirical Dit," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache* 105 (1995): 240–80; here 246–47.

escalating. One in particular, that between Walter de Burgh and Maurice Fitz Maurice, apparently alarmed the people of New Ross and this is generally believed to be the main reason for the building of the wall. It is not clear why New Ross would have feared this feud as neither lord seemed to have any direct interest in the town. The main point of contention between the two seems to have been that de Burgh, Lord of Connaught, was laying claim to Fitz Maurice's territory in Co. Sligo. Tension in these areas would not threaten New Ross, at least not on the face of it. Maurice Fitz Maurice, however, was mentioned in connection with complaints of piracy against New Ross:

> Two vessels laden with wine were heading for Waterford when they were approached by Herny and his band along with Robert Le Clerke and Thomas Ketynge to whom Maurice Fitz Maurice had delivered the town of New Ross needing protection at the time of the disturbances of the peace in Ireland. Unbeknown to the said Maurice, both ships were led by armed escort to New Ross, whose commonality was consenting in the act.[22]

This passage dates to 1264 and the disturbance could refer to Fitz Maurice's own feud. We see from this that Fitz Maurice had some interest in protecting the town, but also that the town was quite capable of protecting its own interests and that the whole town was involved in these piratic acts. Perhaps the town was afraid that Fitz Maurice was offended by the seizure of the ships and would seek vengeance. It is not possible to be sure. It does seem, however, that, in the early 1260s, anger and resentment from nearby Waterford over piracy and the feud between two Anglo-Norman lords provided the context and perhaps the reasons for the building of the wall. These events also highlight divisions among the colonizers as they jockeyed for power and preference in this frontier territory. Very early in the poem, the poet himself indicates that the feud was the main reason for the building of the wall:

Mes poure avaint de un geere	But they were fearful of a war
Qe fu par entre deus barouns;	that was [going on] between two barons;
Vei ci escrit amdeus lur nuns:	here are their two names in writing:
Sire Maurice et Sire Wauter	lord Maurice and lord Walter.[23]

There may be an additional explanation for the construction, however, and that is the desire to keep the Irish out. In the sixteenth century, Stanihurst records that the wall was built because an Irish 'pezzant' came to New Ross and bargained with a merchant for a piece of cloth, then grabbed the cloth without pay-

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22 Sinclair, "The Walling of New Ross" (see note 21), 247.
23 Shields, "The Walling of New Ross" (see note 20), 28.

ing and raced out of town on his horse. A wealthy widow then put up the money for a wall so this kind of thing would not happen again.[24] This story is dismissed as fantasy, which it undoubtedly is, but the reason given for this dismissal is because it is thought that there was little friction between the Irish and the settlers in Wexford at this time. However, the land grants made by Henry III mentioned above were putting pressure on the Irish, so all was not entirely peaceful on that front and the poet himself notes almost at the very end of the poem that:

Nul home de ce ne lez dut blamer	No one should blame them
Qe lur vile voleint fermer;	for wanting to enclose their town;
Qe qant la vile serra fermé	when the town is securely closed
E le mure tot vironé,	and the wall encircles it completely,
N'ad Irés en Irland si hardi	Not an Irishman in Ireland will be so bold
Qi l'oserént assailer, je vus plevi.	As to dare attack it, I guarantee.[25]

As Keith Sinclair points out, "The Irish in question are the indigenous peasants, farmers, and nobles living in septs and clans around or adjacent to the Anglo-Norman settlements."[26] Elsewhere in the poem, the author refers to the Irish as *mauveis gent, male gent,* and *enemi*, so perhaps the Irish were indeed the main cause of fear among the townsfolk. As mentioned New Ross had been founded near the site of an old monastery where there had long been a settlement of native Irish. This settlement, which came to be called Irishtown, was situated just outside the Market Gate of the town. So New Ross may indeed have felt like it was surrounded by Irish settlements, which bore no visual resemblance to English towns and must have looked alien to them. These 'settlements' and the ethnic biases that the English brought with them from England would have been enough to create fear of the Irish among the town folk whether that fear was justified or not. So this third reason for the building of the wall reveals the insecurities that accompanied English settlement on the 'frontier' of Ireland. Other elements of the poem, however, reveal other insecurities having to do with issues of language and class, some of which may be hangovers from 1066 when England itself became in a sense a Norman colony. It also reveals the lack of direct control that allowed the strategies by which the people of New Ross hoped to overcome these issues and depict themselves in ways they thought best suited the success they had achieved and hoped to continue to achieve in this 'barbarian' land.

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24 Shields, "The Walling of New Ross" (see note 20), 24.
25 Shields, "The Walling of New Ross" (see note 20), 32.
26 Sinclair, "The Walling of New Ross" (see note 21), 266.

It has been established that the poet was a French speaker, but the towns-people would have been predominantly English speakers. There is no evidence that French was spoken or written in New Ross, except for the poem in question, nor is there any evidence that, as Hugh Shields puts it, "the poem was put to any local use."[27] So who was the poet writing for? Sinclair argues that this is a satir-ical *dit* and I agree that it is indeed satire. He argues that the rituals with which the townsfolk go about digging the fosse for the wall are being satirized by the poet as pathetic or ridiculous attempts to ape the cultural performances of their betters. As for the poet himself, Sinclair states that "I for my part perceive a pur-poseful *trouvère,* one who draws on hyperbole, comic fantasy, paronomasia, sat-ire, and much more, to attract and retain his audience's attention."[28]

But, again, who was that audience? Was the poet a professional hired by the town who believed his patrons would not notice that they were being mocked because either they didn't speak French, or not very well, or because they were so full of themselves they wouldn't notice a little blatant mockery? Or was the poet a talented amateur enthralled by the spectacle he describes and eager to share it with his lordly friends? If this is a satire, perhaps it was meant to amuse a small group of elites with the antics of the common folk, but that does not seem to jibe with the contention that the town commissioned the poem. There are too many unknowns to make a firm determination, but the poem itself makes quite clear that the people of New Ross saw themselves as a new breed, as something other than commoners or peasants. Their success cou-pled with their automatic rise in social status due to living in a land full of cul-turally inferior Celts, led them to try and re-identify themselves, as the poem shows. The poet begins with the following:

Talent me prent de rimaunceir	I have a desire to versify in French
S'il vous plet de escoteir,	if you will be pleased to listen
Kar parole qe n'est oie	for words that are not heard
Ne vaut pas un aillie.	are not worth a clove of garlic [?].[29]

Evidently he was not writing simply for his own amusement. The poem then goes on to describe the plan the townsfolk come up with for dividing the labor: on Monday the vintners, mercers, merchants, and drapers would work on the fosse until three o'clock; when those folk have gone, the priests come and then the sailors if they are in town; on Tuesday, the tailors, robe-trimmers,

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27 Shields, "The Walling of New Ross" (see note 20), 26.
28 Sinclair, "The Walling of New Ross" (see note 21), 27.
29 Shields, "The Walling of New Ross" (see note 20), 28.

dyers, fullers, and saddlers do their bit; on Wednesday the leather-workers, tanners, and butchers; on Thursday, the bakers, the small sellers of corn and fish with their helpers; then Friday the porters work, the carpenters, masons, and smiths on Saturday and finally, the ladies on Sunday. This scheme seems roughly to group these people according to the status of their professions, with women thrown in at the end on a Sunday when everyone else should be at rest. No matter what pretensions the town as a whole may have had or how cooperatively they may have worked together to pursue their ambitions, society within New Ross maintained accepted social norms and class divisions. It is in the description of how these groups approach their work that the satire comes in. Here is just one example:

Ke le lundi tot primers	On Monday to begin with
Irrunt a la fosse le vineters,	the vintners would go to the fosse,
Mercers, marchans e drapers	mercers, merchants and drapers
Ensemblement od les vineters	together with the vintners
... O beles baners e granz honurs	... with fine banners and insignia
E od floites e taburs.	and flutes and tabors.
E aussi tost cum noune soune	and as soon as it strikes three [?]
I vont a l'ostel li prodome;	the citizens return home;
Lure baners y vont devant.	and their banners go ahead of them.[30]

Each group has a banner or banners painted with the proper insignia, including one with a fish on a platter. They sing and carol and plant their banners on the edge of the fosse while they are working. The pageantry is reminiscent of knights at a tournament and it is undoubtedly this imitation of their betters that the poet is satirizing. An elite French-speaking audience would surely be amused by these pretensions to chivalry on the part of English-speaking commoners. The description of the ladies adds to the satire:

Le demaigne les dames I vont;	On Sunday the ladies go;
Sachez de veires, bon óvere I funt.	And in truth they do good work.
Le nombre ne sai de cert nomer:	I cannot say for sure how many there were:
Nule hom vivant ne les puit conter.	No one could possibly count them.
Totz la pere I vont jeter	They all go to heave the stone
E hors de fosse a porter.	and carry it out of the fosse.
Ki qe la fut pur esgarder	Had you been there to witness it
Meint bele dame y put il veer,	you would have seen many a lovely lady
Meint mantel de escarlet	many a mantle of scarlet,
E de verd e de burnet,	green and fine dark brown,

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30 Shields, "The Walling of New Ross" (see note 20), 29.

E meint bone roket bien ridee,	many a good well-smocked gown,
Meint blank fem [?] ben colouree;	many a fair-skinned rosy wife [?].
Ke unkes en tere ou je ai esté	Never in any land where I have been
Tantz bele dames ne vi en fossee.	did I see so many fine ladies in a fosse.

Meint bele baner lur sunt devant	Many a fine banner goes before them
Tant cum sunt la pere portant;	while they are carrying the stone;
E qant ont la pere aportee,	and when they have brought the stone,
Tant cum plest a volunté,	as much as need be,
Entur la fosse vont chanter	round the fosse they go singing
Avant qe en vile vólen entrer.	before they go back into town.
E qant en la vile sunt entrés	Then when they return to the town
Les riches dames sunt ensembles	the great ladies meet together
E juent e beivent e karolent	and play and drink and carol
E de bons enveisúres en parolent.	and talk of pleasant things.[31]

What with all the singing and parading around with banners it's a wonder these people got any work done. The ladies apparently go out to dig ditches in their good clothes, like fine ladies at a joust. They carry heavy stones about with a style that seems wildly inappropriate for their task, although they apparently enjoy themselves. The poet seems to enjoy watching them as well and his comment that he has never seen so many fine ladies in a fosse or, as I like to think of them, dames in a ditch, seems meant to point up the contrast between their pretentious finery and the base nature of their task. We also see here, class division among the ladies. It is the great ladies, the *riches dames*, who get together after work to hoist a few and talk.

As a *trouvère*, the poet would have been at least a peripheral member of the world of the Anglo-Norman elite. The people of New Ross were attempting to reinvent themselves as part of that world. The poet could not resist satirizing these pretentions, but would the commoners, the townsfolk, have seen the satire? They inhabited a new world in which they may have seen their status as mutable. They did not have a precedent to follow, however, in establishing a new social identity. Therefore, they used the semiotics of the knightly class to indicate what they saw as their elevated status. In this scenario, it would not have been just the poem itself that signaled what they saw as their proper place in this new world: The hiring of a French-speaking poet and the commissioning of a poem in French also would have been an important step in showing that they too could act like lords and employ troubadours to immortalize their great deeds.

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31 Shields, "The Walling of New Ross" (see note20), 30–31.

Most of the poem describes the town as having a population similar to that in any English town of similar size. Even though the town folk imitate the pretensions of the knightly class and take care to maintain at least the appearance of divisions based on class or occupation, their cooperation in fostering the growth and prosperity of their town is in stark contrast to the dangerous feuds of their knightly lords, feuds that were possibly one of the causes for the building of the wall in the first place. Thus the town appears to be a bastion of orderly Englishness in a chaotic French and Irish world.

I imagine this whole scenario as a movie sequence beginning with the poet on a hill above the town, the representative of the elite smiling indulgently at the scene below as he composes his poem: below him we see the town with its neat citizens aping the conventions of chivalry as they go off to dig the ditch with music playing and banners flying; the shot widens to show that the town is ominously surrounded by crude settlements of wild Irish with their beards and unfashionable clothing sharpening their weapons. Thus the poem seems to me to be a microcosm of colonial fears and ambitions, of linguistic hierarchies and ethnic tensions that would haunt both Ireland and England down to the present day.

By the end of the thirteenth century, the Irish began to push back against the colonizers spurred by "the emergence of a new generation of Gaelic leaders which led to a gradual recovery of lands and assimilation of settlers."[32] Anglo-Norman lords and their servants and workers in the countryside had become so assimilated to Irish culture that they were later described as 'more Irish than the Irish themselves.'[33] The elites and their servants and tenants had adopted Irish law, customs, and dress, but, perhaps worst of all, they had adopted the Irish language. In contrast, according to Frame, for the new settlers and the English in the towns, "The settler establishment of the lordship in the fourteenth century had its identity; it was an 'English' identity for that alone seemed to guarantee its members' right to be where they were and hold what they had ..."[34]

Both newly arriving English settlers and the already established English in the towns of Ireland were alarmed by the degree of assimilation they saw among the elites and their tenants in the Irish countryside. This was an especially deplorable development in the eyes of officials that was exacerbated by the fact that the Hundred Years' War was slowly but inexorably hardening national

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32 Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass* (see note 7), 223.

33 This phrase was coined in the late eighteenth century and is used frequently to indicate the cultural assimilation of the Normans in Ireland. See Sean J. Connolly, *Contested Ireland: Ireland 1460–1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 34–35.

34 Frame, *Colonial Ireland* (see note 16), 150.

identities. In 1366 the *Statutes of Kilkenny* were issued to try to rectify the situation. The first statute guaranteed the freedom of the Church, the second forbad marriage, fosterage, concubinage etc. between Irish and English, but the third stated that:

> Also, it is ordained and established, that every Englishman do use the English language, and be named by an English name, leaving off entirely the manner of naming used by the Irish; and that every Englishman use the English custom, fashion, mode of riding and apparel, according to his estate; and if any English, or Irish living amongst the English, use the Irish language amongst themselves, contrary to the ordinance, and therof be attainted, his lands and tenements, if he have any, shall be seized into the hands of his immediate lord ...[35]

Interestingly enough, the Statutes were composed in French.

Given that most of the French speakers in the countryside were the ones who had adopted Irish culture and language, it was left to the towns to fight to maintain English as the dominant language among the settlers, thus ensuring that French would not last much longer in Ireland. It is in the town of Waterford that the Kildare poems were written earlier in the fourteenth century and where Harley 913 was assembled including both the Kildare poems and the *Walling of New Ross*. So it is thanks to towns like New Ross that kept English isolated from the process of assimilation going on outside its walls as well as laws like the *Statutes of Kilkenny*, that English eventually won the battle of the new languages in Ireland. It is thought that Irish, however, was the dominant language until about 1800, around the time of the Act of Union (Jan. 1, 1801) that united England, Ireland, and Scotland.[36] At that time, Irish Gaelic was pushed to the western margins of the Island, known as the Gaeltacht, and fiercely maintained in support of Irish identity against the pressure of Englishness.

By the end of the thirteenth century, increasing trade restrictions, the reversion of the Lordship of Carlow (in which New Ross was situated) to the crown, and the increasing aggression of the Irish were putting a dent in the town's econ-

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35 Article 3. "*A Statute of the Fortieth Year of King Edward III., enacted in a parliament held in Kilkenny, A.D. 1367, before Lionel Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,*" trans. James Hardiman (Dublin: Irish Archaeological Society vol. 2, 1843), 3–120. See online version at CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts. http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T300001-001/ (last accessed on Oct. 14, 2014), 13.
36 Göran Wolf, "Language Contact, Change of Language Status: 'Celtic' National Languages in the British Isles and Ireland." *Celtic Languages in Contact Papers from the Workshop within the Framework of the Xiii International Conference of Celtic Studies,* Bonn, 26–27 July, 2007, ed. Hildegard L. C. Tristram (Potsdam: Potsdam University Press, 2007), 315–336, here 334.

omy. Increasing hostility between New Ross and Waterford accelerated the downward trend. The plague of the mid-fourteenth century sent the town into crisis.[37] The citizens no longer enjoyed the prosperity upon which their pretensions of social advancement were founded. Even the poet's promise that no Irishman would dare to attack the town's walls proved false when Art MacMurchada breached that wall and set fire to the town in 1394.

The extreme good fortune the town enjoyed throughout most of the thirteenth century may have been ephemeral, but the poem that celebrates New Ross has left us with a lasting image not only of how language signified status in the Middle Ages, but also of the at least temporary fluidity of both language and status on the colonial frontier, a fluidity that helped create insecurities about identity and security.

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37 Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass* (see note 7), 281.

Charles W. Connell (Northern Arizona University)

The Power of Multilingualism in the Voices of Hildegard of Bingen

My attraction to Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) began with an examination of her preaching against the Cathars in the 1140s for an article on the sermon in the Middle Ages.[1] Reviewing a number of analyses of her work, however, led me to a curiosity about her various voices. The more recent studies of multilingualism operate without a narrow definition, which is appropriate for how I am approaching this brief study of Hildegard. On the one hand, scholars may focus on individuals who can function with two or more languages that are clearly separate from each other as multilingual speakers. On the other, individuals capable of using a variety of symbols and images to convey messages to communicate effectively with others may also be considered multilingual.[2]

In this essay, I define Hildegard's multilingualism as the use of more than one language, of more than one voice, and of many symbols to convey messages to accomplish multiple purposes. Moreover, it is her multilingual capabilities that enabled her to speak publically in arenas normally not open to women and in forms that enhanced her influence in those arenas.

Hildegard was born into a noble family of Bermersheim in the modern-day Rhenish wine-growing region of southwestern Germany.[3] At the age of eight she was placed in the hermitage of Jutta (1091–1136), a daughter of the Count Steven

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1 Charles W. Connell, "The Sermon in the Middle Ages," *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), vol. 3, 1576–1609. A version of this paper on Hildegard was presented at the Forty-Eighth International Congress of Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, MI, May 9–12, 2013.

2 Albrecht Classen, "Multilingualism in Medieval Europe: Pilgrimage and Linguistic Challenges. The Case of Felix Fabri and His Contemporaries," in this volume; see also id., "Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: The Literary-Historical Evidence," *Neophilolgus* 97 (2013): 121–45.

3 *Hildegard of Bingen: Scivias*, trans. Mother Columba Hart and Jane Bishop, intro. Barbara Newman (New York: Paulist Press, 1990), 10–11; also see Sabina Flanagan, *Hildegard of Bingen, 1098–1179. A Visionary Life* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998); Barbara Newman, *Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987); and Barbara Newman, ed., *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998). For an overview of the ongoing development of the scholarship on Hildegard, see Madeline Caviness, "Hildegard of Bingen: Some Recent Books," *Speculum* 77 (2002): 113–20.

of Sponheim who had become a recluse in 1106, but because of the close relationship of the two families had agreed to tutor Hildegard.[4] Under the tutelage of Jutta, Hildegard learned to read the Latin Bible, particularly the Psalms, and to chant the monastic office. In time, other young women joined Jutta and the hermitage became a nunnery professing the Benedictine Rule.[5]

1 The Voice of Prophecy

According to her memoirs, from a time very early in her life, Hildegard was noted for "mystical longings" and a temperament marked by chronic ill health, but which also endowed her with a "propensity for visions" that were filled with a luminosity that she later called "the reflection of the living Light."[6] In her visions there occurred a variety of figures, both human and architectural in nature, which she indicated she was able to interpret with the aid of a "voice from heaven."[7] These visions were only discussed with Jutta and the monk Volmar, who was both an early teacher and later her personal secretary and friend. Very late in her life, Hildegard reported an experience with the "living Light" that suggested a direct encounter with the divine.[8]

The visions of Hildegard continued for forty years before she received what she deemed to be a call to prophecy. Modern scholarship has debated whether her visions were due to some physiological illness such as migraines, or whether she somehow cultivated them, but Newman and Flanagan have concurred that they were a result of her spirituality. Even if she had an infirmity of some sort so that she could "by no means enjoy any security of the flesh," Hildegard

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4 Eight is the traditional age provided by biographers for Hildegard's entrustment to Jutta, but more recently discovered sources suggest that it might have been as late as age fourteen. See Fiona Maddocks, *Hildegard of Bingen: The Woman of Her Age* (New York: Image, 2001).

5 For more about the relationship of Hildegard and Jutta, who remained her tutor for thirty years, and the influence of Jutta on her and other young noble women, see *Jutta and Hildegard: The Biographical Sources*, trans. Anna Silvas (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1999); Flanagan, *Hildegard* (see note 3),31, 44; Constant Mews, "Hildegard and the Schools," *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of Her Thought and Art*, ed. Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke (London: The Warburg Institute, 1998), 89 – 110; John Van Engen, "Abbess: 'Mother and Teacher,'" *Voice of the Living Light,* ed. Newman (see note 3), 30 – 51; and Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Hildegard of Bingen and Her Gospel Homilies. Speaking New Mysteries.* Medieval Women, Texts, and Contexts, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 25 – 26.

6 *Scivias* (see note 3), intro., 11.

7 *Scivias* (see note 3), intro., 11.

8 *Scivias* (see note 3), intro., 11.

seemed to regard this as an asset, meaning that without it "the inspiration of the holy Spirit would not be able to dwell in her." [9] As Newman sums it up, "It took decades of painfully acquired self-knowledge—and the authority of an abbatial position—before she was able to understand the visions as a vehicle for divine revelation."[10]

The call to prophecy itself came in 1141. In the preface to her first and best-known work during her own lifetime, the *Scivias,* Hildegard reported that she received an illumination and the command to "cry out and write."[11] Begun at the time of her calling, the commonly known title *Scivias* is short for *Scito vias Domini* (*Know the Ways of the Lord*), and it took her ten years to complete. Though somewhat debatable, and perhaps based largely on the claim made by Hildegard herself, Pope Eugenius III, after his personal reading of an early draft in late 1147 or early 1148, apparently approved of her continuing to record her visions. This of course guaranteed later acceptance of the *Scivias* within the clerical community after its completion in 1151.[12]

In the *Scivias* we see revealed the most powerful voice of Hildegard's multi-lingualism. It is a schizophrenic inner and outer voice first of all, that is, a voice speaking for a voice, an inner voice of Hildegard herself revealing the voice of God. The Voice of God calls to Hildegard to reveal His prophecy and to record it in writing in order to circulate the message. In Hildegard's words in the introductory "Declaration" of the *Scivias:*

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9 Barbara Newman, "Hildegard of Bingen: Visions and Validation," *Church History* 54 (1985): 163–75; here 167.

10 *Scivias* (see note 3), intro., *12;* Flanagan, *Hildegard* (see note 3), 185–204. Cf. Charles Singer, "The Scientific Views of Saint Hildegard," *Studies in the History and Method of Science* 1 (1917): 1–55; Oliver Sacks, *Migraine: Understanding a Common Disorder* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), 106–08. Also, see Barbara Newman, "Divine Power Made Perfect in Weakness: St. Hildegard on the Frail Sex," *Peaceweavers*, ed. Lillian T. Shank and John Nichols. Medieval Religious Women, 2 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1987), 103–22; Elizabeth Petroff, ed., *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature* (Oxford 1986), 32–44; and, Sabina Flanagan, "Hildegard and the Humors: Medieval Theories of Illness and Personality," *Madness, Melancholy and the Limits of the Self*, ed. Andrew D. Weiner and Leonard V. Kaplan. Graven Images, 3 (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 14–23.

11 *Scivias* (see note 3), intro., 12; and the text in English translation in *Scivias* (see note 3), 61.

12 *Scivias* (see note 3), intro., 22. Flanagan indicates that the pope received a copy of a completed portion of the work in progress at the Synod of Trier (November 1147–February 1148). He allegedly held it in his own hands and read it aloud to archbishops and cardinals who were attending the synod. Thereafter it was determined that "Hildegard should be commanded to transcribe and make known whatever she received in this way from the Holy Spirit," and a letter was sent to her with that message of encouragement (Flanagan, *Hildegard* [see note 3], 5).

> O fragile human, ashes of ashes, and filth of filth! Say and write what you see and hear. But since you are timid in speaking, and simple in expounding, and untaught in writing, speak and write these things not only by a human mouth ... but by the will of Him Who knows, sees and disposes all things.[13]

It is this calling to prophecy via the inner voice that empowers Hildegard so that other voices will emerge as well from the seclusion of her monastic life. More specifically, this vision gave her the ability to know, as she put it,

> the meaning of the exposition of the Scriptures, namely the Psalter, the Gospel and the other catholic volumes of both the Old and the New Testaments, though I did not have the interpretation of the words of their texts or the division of the syllables or the knowledge of cases or tenses.[14]

Hildegard's voice of prophecy was the most powerful and most influential among her contemporaries. First recorded in the visions of the *Scivias*, the authority for her prophecy was furthered in two subsequent visionary works: the *Liber vitae meritorum* (*Book of Life's Merits*), which was based on her experience as a spiritual director, and focuses on moral psychology and penance within the context of a debate between the virtues and the vices; and the *Liber divinorum operum* (*Book of Divine Works*, also called *De operatione Dei*, or *On the Activity of God*), a cosmological work which presents the views of Hildegard on history and eschatology.[15]

This sense of prophecy is constant throughout most of her works and in her preaching. In Newman's words, Hildegard "saw herself as the voice of another, not as a speaker in her own right," thus she lapsed easily "from speaking about God in the third person, as preacher, to speaking *for* him in the first person, as prophet."[16] Hildegard's perception of her prophetic role became connected to the reform of the clergy and fit well with the emphasis of the Gregorian reform that "fostered a monastic culture which promoted learning and respected the author-

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13 *Scivias* (see note 3), 59.
14 *Scivias* (see note 3), 59.
15 *Scivias* (see note 3), intro., 16–17.
16 *Scivias* (see note 3), intro., 17 (emphasis Newman's). Also, see Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 6–12; Richard Emmerson, "The Presentation of Antichrist in Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias*," *Gesta* 41 (2002): 95–110, who discusses the experience of visions and the self-portrait of Hildegard (pp. 105–06); and, Newman, "Visions and Validation" (see note 9).

ity of visionary experience."[17] William, Abbot of Hirsau (1069–1091), was the best known contemporary of Hildegard who supported monastic reform. He and others encouraged the foundation of women's religious communities, as well as offering the model of the lives of the apostles along with the value of education as the basis for reform.[18] Otloh of St. Emmeram (ca. 1010–ca. 1070), a mentor and friend of William, also wrote treatises on visions (*Liber visionum*), and on clerical reform (*Liber de admonitione clericorum et laicorum* or *Admonition to Clergy and Laity*).[19]

An issue regarding the clerical reform of this era is the degree to which Benedictine monasticism deserves criticism, which has been hotly debated among modern scholars. John Van Engen, for example, has asserted that there is a false perception of decline which was based on a too literal reading of the critics.[20] On the other hand, Otloh himself wrote a *Vita* of St. Wolfgang, Bishop of Regensburg from 972 to 974 who was an early reformer, urging that the canonesses living under the Augustinian Rule should instead adopt the Benedictine because he considered it to be stricter, thus indicating Otloh's own more favorable view of the latter.[21] Jutta and Hildegard chose the Benedictine Rule as well, but this did not stop Hildegard from her critique of lax clergy, especially the priests whom she felt were not doing a forceful enough job of preaching against the rising heresy of the Cathars. Another predecessor of Hildegard's who modeled the linkage of homily with reform was Rupert of Deutz (ca. 1075–1129). A Benedictine theologian, Rupert wrote a number of influential biblical commentaries, while, just like Hildegard, claiming that visions constituted his source for understanding Scripture.[22] Thus, it is not so difficult to understand, as Kienzle notes, why when Hildegard began relaying the content of her visions, the religious culture around her was already marked by a high level of monastic literacy and furthermore, accustomed to assertions of visionary authority to convey reform messages and exegetical understanding.[23] What made it

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17 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 26–27. For the visionaries, see Constant Mews, "Hildegard, Visions and Religious Reform," *"Im Angesicht Gottes suche der Mensch sich selbst": Hildegard von Bingen (1098–1179)*, ed. Rainer Berndt (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), 325–42.

18 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 27.

19 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 27.

20 John Van Engen, "The 'Crisis of Cenobitism' Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050–1150," *Speculum* 61 (1986): 269–304.

21 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 27 n. 20.

22 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 29–30. Also, see John Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1983); Robert Lerner, "Ecstatic Dissent," *Speculum* 67 (1992): 33–57; and Newman, "Visions and Validation" (see note 9), 172–73.

23 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 30.

unique, however, was that Hildegard's voice was also that of a woman, which cast an unusual tone that shaped her influence by using voices other than that of the prophet, yet still connected to it. Why was Hildegard permitted as a nun and a woman to speak aloud and to influence others with this voice of prophecy? Her secretary in her later life, Guibert of Gembloux, addressed this issue in one of his letters and declared that although "The apostle does not allow a woman to teach in the Church. But this woman, through her receiving the Spirit, has been freed from that condition and instructed by the Spirit's teaching."[24]

She used this prophetic voice in many ways, including the education and personal counseling of the nuns in her charge after becoming prioress, as well as in her letters to numerous correspondents, and in her preaching inside and outside of the cloister. Her impact is to be noted by both the evidence of what she wrote in the *Expositiones evangeliorum*, and how the various audiences continued to ask for her wisdom while the Church did not censor or silence her. The *Expositiones* consisted of fifty-eight homilies that Hildegard originally composed for her sisters at Rupertsberg, and which she likely presented to them in the chapter house. However, as Kienzle underlines, "as God's voice called her to revive the faith by continuing the exegesis begun by the Church Fathers, the seer undertook journeys to preach and give spiritual advice in Rhineland monasteries and cathedrals."[25]

This expansion of her influence was accomplished with a combination of her other voices as defined and empowered by her visions captured in the visionary trilogy that began with the *Scivias*. In her prophetic homilies, "the seer instructs all orders of society on a wide variety of topics and admonishes them on appropriate conduct in view of the approaching end of times."[26] The impact of Hildegard in this voice was described by her contemporaries. Her early confessor and mentor Volmar, for example, praised her exegesis among her sisters at Rupertsberg as a "new interpretation" and as "new and unheard of sermons on the feast days of saints."[27]

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24 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies*, 12, who uses Guibert of Gembloux, *Epistolae quae in codice B. R. Brux: 5527–5534 ineniuntur*, ed. Albert Derolez, Eligio Dekkers, and Rolando Demeulenaere, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 66–66 A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988–1989), p. 232, ll. 240–44.
25 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 2–3, 8–9.
26 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 39–40.
27 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 45, and n. 100 with ref. to Volmar, *Epistolarium*, II, 195, p. 443, ll. 19–21.

Another biographer, Theoderic of Echternach (d. 1192), compared Hildegard to Moses, St John the Evangelist, and Deborah.[28] He goes on to say that she "opened the lock" to the gifts of the Holy Spirit, sometimes orally and sometimes in writing; and, she preached to audiences beyond her own enclosures and "delivered exhortations" to crowds of both sexes, which were "suitably adjusted to the life of both," while she "proposed and resolved ... questions regarding the Holy Scriptures." [29] Thus, Hildegard's visions recorded and interpreted in the *Scivias* became the voice that legitimated her use of other forms to enhance her influence.

2 Comingled Voices

In addition to the prophetic, Hildegard spoke in several other voices—notably that of the polemicist, the teacher, the dramatist, the illustrator, and the poet musician.[30] Within her teaching role, as the work of Beverly Kienzle has argued in recent years, and building on her reputation as a noteworthy exegete, Hildegard spoke with three distinctive modes. As commentator, for example, Hildegard used the *vox expositricis* which captured the tone of the patristic exegetes. To tell moral stories, she deployed the *vox narrativa*. But most effectively perhaps, she adopted the *vox dramatis personae* in which, as Kienzle states: Hildegard "adduces God's commands [from Scripture] ... and mixes them with words she herself fashions for God."[31]

The use of various voices suggests that Hildegard may have even "staged a one-actress drama" in which alternately she assumes the voices of God, Christ,

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28 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 45, and n. 101 with ref. to *Vita Hildegardus*, II, *Prologus*, p. 17, I.6; p. 30; *Life of Hildegard*, pp. 37 – 38, 52.

29 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 45 – 46.

30 Many of these aspects of her "voices" will not be further examined in this brief study. However, see Maud Burnett McInerney, "Introduction: Hildegard of Bingen, Prophet and Polymath," *Hildegard of Bingen. A Book of Essays,* ed. Maud Burnett McInerney (New York and London: Garland, 1998), xvii–xxvii. Also, Madeline Caviness focuses on the artistic aspects in "Artist: 'To See, Hear, and Know all at Once'," in Newman, ed., *Voice of the Living Light* (see note 3), 110 – 24, and, Caviness, "Hildegard as Designer of the Illustrations to Her Works," *Hildegard of Bingen: Context*, ed. Burnett and Dronke (see note 5), 29 – 62. Regarding Hildegard as poet, see, for example, Barbara Newman, "Poet: 'Where the Living Majesty Utters Mysteries'," *Voice of the Living Light*, ed. Newman (see note 3), 176 – 92; and for composition of music and drama, see Margot Fassler, "Composer and Dramatist: 'Melodious Singing and the Freshness of Remorse'," *Voice of the Living Light*, ed. Newman (see note 3), 149 – 175.

31 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 132 – 33.

and Adam to interpret theology as instruction for her own monastic community.[32] In Kienzle's analysis, Hildegard's use of the *vox dramatis personae* to extend the voices of biblical characters is so prevalent that it leads to the creation of a *vox Hildegardis*, and recycles to exhort in a *vox praedicatricis*, thus resulting in what Kienzle says clearly distinguishes her commentaries on Scripture overall as a "dramatic narrative exegesis."[33] What further distinguishes Hildegard's use of the *vox dramatis personae* is that it enables her to "capture the performative nature of the *Expositiones*" as she "recreates the biblical story for her sisters." [34] Kienzle argues that this was perceived as crucial by Hildegard in order to elucidate the full meaning of the story, particularly for those aspects which depict the human soul as engaged in a dramatic personal struggle for salvation. Hildegard thus serves as "*magistra*, narrator, and interpreter," a multilingual trifecta if you will, and, "Whether or not the *magistra* was cognizant of her innovation, she *certainly expressed a keen awareness of the impact of her voice on her sisters.*"[35]

Beverlee Rapp has also suggested that Hildegard, despite her limited formal education, was quite "aware of how her use of language and self-representation could affect her ability to influence those events which concerned her."[36] In her correspondence, for example, which numbers nearly four hundred letters,[37] Hildegard exerted a voice of persuasion and influence in areas of culture and political affairs. She corresponded with both ecclesiastics and the laity, especially the aristocracy, including both Henry II (1133–1189) and his wife Eleanor of Aquitaine (ca. 1122–1204), as well as nobility closer by, such as the Holy Roman Emperors Conrad III (1093–1152) and Frederick Barbarossa (1123–1190). She also wrote to Pope Eugenius III and to Bernard of Clairvaux seeking their approval for her mission.[38]

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32 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 136.

33 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 151–52.

34 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 152.

35 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 152 [emphasis mine].

36 Beverlee Sian Rapp, "A Woman Speaks: Language and Self-Representation in Hildegard's Letters," *Hildegard of Bingen: A Book of Essays*, ed. McInerney (see note 30), 3–24; here 3.

37 Joan Ferrante, "Correspondent: "Blessed is the Speech of Your Mouth'," *Voice of the Living Light*, ed. Newman (see note 3), 91–109. The number of Hildegard's letters is only exceeded by one of her contemporaries, Bernard of Clairvaux, who had more than one secretary at a time (Ferrante, in Newman [see note 3], 91).

38 Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Crisis and Charismatic Authority in Hildegard of Bingen's Preaching Against the Cathars," *Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Preaching, 1200–1500*, ed. Katherine Ludwig Jansen and Miri Rubin. Europa Sacra, 4 (Tunhout: Brepols, 2010), 73–91; here 75. See also John Van Engen, "Letters and the Public Persona of Hilde-

The significance of her voice in this mode is summed up by Ferrante in these terms:

> The scope and subject matter of Hildegard's correspondence suggest that she served as abbess to the world, a mother superior in every sense to the ecclesiastical, monastic, and secular communities who brought their problems—religious, moral, psychological, and practical—to her for solution and consolation.[39]

The voice in these letters often comes forth again as the means to communicate the message of God, namely as an attack on corruption, and as correction of the vices of both the elite and the ordinary in society. As Ferrante notes, "Her attacks were accepted, indeed even solicited as salutary warnings, because her prophetic powers had repeatedly been validated."[40] Sometimes she offered practical advice (e.g., read yourself to sleep with the Gospel of John), but at other times it was in the form of parables, or in "a language so symbolic it is hard to understand and must have been even harder for those who were not versed in her writings."[41]

This is testified to by one abbot who wrote to her in frustration, saying "I beat at your ears with tearful and miserable petitions, that you send me some solace through letters fit for the capacity of my little wit."[42] Hildegard's use of language in these letters, a great number of which were written to women (especially nuns as one might expect), exhibits a form of multilingualism in which she manipulated the language and images therein to invert the roles of women and men.[43] For example, in a letter to Henry, Bishop of Beauvais (1149–1162), she portrayed the vision of a woman as the personification of Pure Knowledge wearing a bishop's pallium around her shoulders. Though it was not unusual to personify virtues as women, it was highly rare to see women portrayed as bishops since women could hold no priestly offices. The significance of this, as

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gard," *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld: Internationaler wissenschaftlicher Kongress zum 900jährigen Jubiläum, 13.–19. September 1998, Bingen am Rhein*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 375–418; here 379–89, who argues that those letters provide insight into Hildegard's self-understanding as she "claimed or imagined" approval from both.

39 Ferrante, "Correspondent," *Voice of the Living Light*, ed. Newman (see note 3), 91.

40 Ferrante, "Correspondent," *Voice of the Living Light*, ed. Newman (see note 3), 93.

41 Ferrante, "Correspondent," *Voice of the Living Light*, ed. Newman (see note 3), 100.

42 Ferrante, "Correspondent," *Voice of the Living Light*, ed. Newman (see note 3), 101.

43 Rapp, "A Woman Speaks," *Hildegard of Bingen: A Book of Essays*, ed. McInerney (see note 30), 4–5. Also, regarding the feminine voice, see Barbara Newman, *Sister of Wisdom* (see note 3).

Rapp argues, is that "by inverting gender roles ... Hildegard presented women as viragos, strong, virile warriors in a world in which men had become lax and weak, thus giving ... herself, as a woman, more authority." [44] To reinforce this point of view, Hildegard trumped the authority claimed by male authors, namely that of previous male authorities in the Church tradition, by claiming God himself. Apparently this worked well. Hildegard became known as a holy woman, and she was pursued as a source of aid and advice. Among many examples, one can cite the Abbot Gedolphus of Brauweiler who sought her assistance in 1169 regarding the exorcism of a demon from a woman. Emperor Fredrick I Barbarossa (1122–1190) noted her sanctity and asked that she come to his court at Ingelheim west of Bingen. Conrad III (1093–1152) wrote to her specifically mentioning "the magnificence of the Spirit miraculously coming to you from above. Whence, although we may lead a secular life, we hasten towards you ... and seek the suffrage of your prayers."[45] In fact, the demand was so great for Hildegard's advice that she could not keep up, and many wrote complaining of a lack of response to their letters.[46]

As her reputation spread we note a change in the tone of her voice over time, especially if she sensed a lack of action with respect to perceived corruption. As Rapp observes, her first voice had been one of humble supplication, whereas her second became one of confident humility, not asking for favors, but rather exhibiting a "quiet sense of acceptance."[47] However, Hildegard could also be demanding, perhaps in anger, and use her sense of God's favor to exhort the receiver of her letter to action. One example is provided in her letter to Cardinals Bernard and Gregory wherein we see this: "The Fountain of Waters cries out to you, his followers: For my living and knowing sake, restrain and correct those dark traitors."[48]

In this example and many more, Hildegard, as characterized by Rapp, "cries out as the mouthpiece of God."[49] She uses these epithets for God that are reminiscent of the Old Testament language, in order to shift the power of her voice, since the Old Testament God is stern and vengeful, just as in the visionary passages of Hildegard. Another example is provided by her exchange with the arrogant Archbishop Arnold of Mainz (ca. 1095–1160), who had been appointed by Emperor Frederick I, and thus became a symbol of imperial interference in

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44 Rapp, "A Woman Speaks" (see note 30), 5.

45 Rapp, "A Woman Speaks," (see note 30), 6–8.

46 Ferrante, "Correspondent," *Voice of the Living Light*, ed. Newman (see note 3), 101.

47 Rapp, "A Woman Speaks," (see note 30), 14.

48 Rapp, "A Woman Speaks," (see note 30), 15.

49 Rapp, "A Woman Speaks," (see note 30), 15.

Church matters and corruption as the battle over investiture continued into the twelfth century. Arnold had written an insulting letter to Hildegard filled with sarcasm over her gift of prophecy (Letter no. 20, ca. 1158–1160), to which she wrote back that "the Living Light has a message for him: in effect, reform or be cut off from grace."[50] Herein, she captures the essence of the linkage between her prophetic and her political voices. She is a female messenger of God who has found a way to speak out against powerful male leaders.

3 Preaching Voice

One of the most strident of Hildegard's voices is found in her preaching against the Cathars from 1163 to 1179. There is difficulty in establishing the exact chronology and itinerary, but it is clear that she did not begin preaching at all until she had established a reputation based on her work with others and the acceptance of her visions as recorded in the *Scivias* which she completed in 1151.[51] The first preaching may have occurred around 1159, to which there is reference in her *Vita*, but it only states that she took the opportunity to visit other monasteries and "expounded there the words God commanded."[52] By 1170 she had conducted her fourth tour. Overall, it appears that she visited more than twenty different places, with special mention of Cologne, Trier, Mainz, Metz, Würzburg and Bamberg by her biographer Theodoric of Echternach (d. 1192) as places where she preached to a broader audience of both clergy and the lay *populus*. Based on

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50 Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, "Prophet and Reformer: 'Smoke in the Vineyard'," *Voice of the Living Light*, ed. Newman (see note 3), 70–91; here 70. For the letter exchange, see *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen*, trans. Joseph L. Baird and Radd K. Ehrman. 2 vols. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), vol. 1, 71–73.

51 Kienzle, "Crisis and Charismatic Authority" (see note 38), 76 n. 17, cites the *Vita Hildegardis* as the evidence of twenty-one places where she preached, including the five cathedral cities and sixteen monasteries. *Vitae Sanctae Hildegardis*, ed. Monika Klaes-Hachmöller. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis, 126 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), III, 17, pp. 54–55. Also, regarding the scope and nature of her various missions, see Flanagan, *Hildegard* (see note 3), 165, 172–73; Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 47–57; Régine Pernoud, "Die Predigten Hildegards von Bingen," *Tiefe des Gotteswissens –Schönheit der Sprachgestalt bei Hildegard von Bingen: internationals Symposium in der Katholischen Akademie Rabanus Maurus Wiesbaden-Naurod vom 9. bis 12. September 1994*, ed. Margot Schmidt. Mystik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Section 1, Christliche Mystik, 10 (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1995), 181–92; and Régine Pernoud, "The Preaching Peregrinations of a Twelfth-Century Nun," *Wisdom which Encircles Wisdom*, ed. Audrey Erkdahl Davidson (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1996), 15–26.

52 Kerby-Fulton, "Prophet and Reformer" (see note 50), 70.

these notations by Theodoric, it is suggested that Hildegard would have preached in cathedrals on several occasions, rather than just within the monastic enclosures such as that at Hirsau.[53]

Hildegard's role as preacher is remarkable because she had to overcome two major obstacles before she could ascend the pulpit, namely the fact that first she was not a priest, and second, there was the general prohibition by the Church against women teaching or preaching.[54] But by the time she began her tours, Hildegard had a well-established reputation for holiness and orthodoxy that she had worked hard to form with the elite of society, and one that received papal endorsement as well because it was understood that she spoke as a prophet reporting visions, which was an acceptable role for women. Her orthodoxy was not in doubt, she was not a rebel, even though she criticized the priests, and she had written a sermon against the Cathars that was so well-received that the cathedral clergy at Mainz requested a copy in 1163.[55] It is likely that two factors merged here to her benefit. First, the Church was still pursuing reform in mid-twelfth century and the issues of clerical abuse were prominent. Second, her attack on the Cathars was timely. They were just emerging in Germany in the early 1160s, and Hildegard's visions and teachings regarding clerical neglect and the institution of marriage hit at the base of Cathar teaching. A strong, well-articulated voice against them was hard to find, so no doubt the Church welcomed the language and the tone of her sermons, especially when Hildegard remained steadfast in her claim that her visions reported God's words and not her own.

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53 Kerby-Fulton, "Prophet and Reformer" (see note 50), 70.

54 For a broader overview of the issues of women's literacy with a focus on Hildegard, see the collection of articles in part one of *The Voice of Silence, Women's Literacy in a Men's Church,* ed. Thérèse de Hemptinne and María Eugenia Góngora. Medieval Church Studies, 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 3–56. Regarding literacy in the medieval world in general, Franz Bäuml has written: "The definition of literacy in the medieval period as the individual ability to read and write in Latin is valid enough in a limited sense, but it will not serve when the intention is to describe, implicitly or explicitly, the function of literacy in medieval society … the definition obscures the social function of literacy, since it neglects the use of literacy by individuals who were themselves illiterate or only partly literate in Latin. Finally, in that it considers only Latin literacy, the definition excludes consideration of the complex relationships between Latin and the vernacular languages" [Franz H. Bäuml, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Speculum* 55 (1980): 237–65; here 239]. Recognition of the functions of literacy highlighted by Bäuml, and the fact that Hildegard communicated with a largely literate population in her writings and in her letters seems to underline the significance of her multilingualism in communicating effectively with greater impact.

55 Flanagan, *Hildegard* (see note 3), 165–66; Kienzle, "Crisis and Charismatic Authority" (see note 38).

The fact that she was a woman, which surprisingly only drew a quietly-expressed chagrin by the Church hierarchy, also likely played a role in the freedom allowed to Hildegard for preaching. For her to attack the Cathars, who were attracting women by offering new opportunities to them, was another aspect of their heretical threat which angered Hildegard whose first model of womanhood was that of the virgin, and in later years, the life of abstinence in sexual matters. Thus, prominent churchmen felt the need to approve, but only with the justification that Hildegard had the gift of the Holy Spirit.

Despite her criticism of the clergy, it was perhaps argued that as a woman she might be more effective in her critique of the Cathars.[56] In fact, Hildegard's criticism of the clergy was directly linked to the danger of heresy. In a sermon preached at Cologne which she preached as the "mouthpiece of God," there was the accusation that the priests "flee to the cavern of your delight ... and because of the tedium of riches ... do not fill those under you, nor allow them to seek teaching from you."[57] Therefore, the Cathar sect walked about openly in the city, and, in contrast to the regular clergy, displayed themselves in black robes, and properly tonsured, with a lack of money and practicing abstinence. Maintaining the prophetic voice in her written, but not personally-preached sermon to the clergy at Kircheim (ca. 1170), Hildegard painted what Kienzle labels "a dramatic vision of the Church suffering from the clergy's corruption," and then predicted that "princes and a 'bold people' will rise up against the clergy."[58] The identification of the 'bold people' with the Cathars is arguable, but Kienzle notes that the Kirchheim document "delivers a stinging indictment [by Hildegard] of clerical neglect and clearly holds the clergy responsible for provoking the Donatist ideas that correspond to those of the Cathars."[59]

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56 Kienzle, "Crisis and Charismatic Authority" (see note 38), 78; id., "Defending the Lord's Vineyard: Hildegard of Bingen's Preaching Against the Cathars," *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. Carolyn A. Muessig. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 90 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1998), 163–91. For a broader overview, see Pernoud, "Preaching Peregrinations" (see note 51); Jean Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris: Institut d' Études Augustiniennes, 1983); and Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Medieval Sermons and Their Performance: Theory and Record," *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn A. Muessig. A New History of the Sermon, 3 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002), 89–124.

57 Flanagan, *Hildegard* (see note 3), 167–68.

58 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 262; id., "Crisis and Charismatic Authority" (see note 38), 83.

59 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 262. Uwe Brunn says that Kienzle is alone in this linkage of 'bold people' to the Cathars, but Flanagan and Newman seem to agree with Kienzle. See Uwe Brunn, *Des contestataires aux 'cathares:' Discours de réforme et propagande antihérétique dans les pays du Rhin et de la Meuse avant l'Inquisition*. Collection des études augustiniennes

Among her most noted attacks on heresy was that in the visionary treatise which Hildegard wrote and sent to the monks at St. Martin in Mainz in response to their request, once they had learned of earlier things she had written against the Cathars. Hildegard noted that the threat by the Cathars was longstanding, and speaking in the voice of the twenty-four elders seated around the throne of God in Revelation 4.4, she reviewed a set of powerful images that characterize heretics.[60] The lion that intimidates the queen of heaven (Rev 12. 1–6), the black beast, the deceptive serpent, and the menacing dragon all appear. In Kienzle's words Hildegard further "unleashes a flow of negative images: the heretics resemble the crab, scorpions, and giant birds that reject their own eggs as if poisonous. The latter non-human images dehumanize the heretics and imply a reversal of the natural order, a common feature of anti-heretical and polemical discourse."[61] This diatribe ends harshly as well.

As Kienzle sums it up, Hildegard "exhorts the people in God's voice to cast out this 'impure and unholy people' even to 'torture them with harsh and hard words,' to expel them completely, and to chase them into their caves." If this is not done, Hildegard then warns that the people will be condemned by God Himself.[62] It is not clear whether these various public sermons were preached in Latin, the vernacular German, or perhaps even in some macaronic form. It is likely that sermons preached only to monastic audiences were in Latin, but those to a mixed audience may well have been in German. It was a somewhat standard practice of that era for sermons to be delivered in the vernacular and to be recorded in shorthand that was later cleaned up and written down in Latin.[63] We also know that in response to requests from those who had heard

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Série Moyen âge et temps modernes, 41 (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2006); Flanagan, *Hildegard* (see note 3), 172; and Barbara Newman, *Sister of Wisdom* (see note 3), 241–42.

60 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 252–59. In this vision Hildegard located the "serpent's deceit" sixty years and twenty four months earlier, that is, 1101. Interestingly, Bernard Hamilton has argued that the Cathar heresy first entered Europe in the aftermath of the First Crusade. See his "Wisdom from the East: The Reception by the Cathars of Eastern Dualist Texts," *Heresy and Literacy in the Middle Ages, 1000–1530*, ed. Peter Biller and Anne Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 38–60.

61 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 259, from *Epistolarium*, II, 169R, pp. 378–81, esp. p. 381, ll. 74–82. Also, see Kienzle, "Crisis and Charismatic Authority" (see note 38), 79–83. On animal images in polemical literature, see Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "La Réprésentation de l'hérétique par l'imagerie animale," *Les Cathares devant l'historie: Mélanges offerts à Jean Duvernoy*, ed. Anne Brenon and Christine Dieulafait. Domaine historique (Cahors: L'Hydre, 2005), 181–95.

62 Kienzle, *Gospel Homilies* (see note 5), 260.

63 Barbara Newman, "'Sibyl of the Rhine:' Hildegard's Life and Times," *Voice of the Living Light*, ed. Barbara Newman (see note 3), 1–29; here 21.

of her preaching many sermons were transmitted in writing to other locations and audiences in the letters written by Hildegard.

Kienzle has raised this question about Hildegard's preaching: "How did Hildegard achieve the bold and prominent voice she exerted?"[64] In responding, Kienzle discusses several aspects about monastic preaching, including the fact that monks rarely discussed the outside world, and that even male monks were not usually authorized to preach in public.[65] Kienzle suggests that it was the nature of Hildegard's message that gave her leeway to preach. She journeyed to explain "the words which God has ordered."[66] Her audiences recognized this authority and awaited her skillfully delivered sermons or written treatises in response to their requests. Her writings against the heretics were even more numerous than those of Bernard of Clairvaux, and "her apocalyptic framework and language" went "beyond Bernard's in intensity."[67] Thus, we may assume that it was her choice of words in the message, and the charisma of Hildegard representing herself as presenting the voice of God that facilitated the success of her preaching tours.

4 The Power of Inner and Outer Voices to Present a Vision of the Good Life

In trying to understand the power of Hildegard's multilingualism, it is constructive to view her negotiating a path between what we might call her inner and her outer voices. This appears true whether we consider her voice operating as a prophet reporting visions, as a preacher attacking lax clergy or heretics, as a correspondent supporting abbots and lay women or castigating important clerical

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64 Kienzle, "Crisis and Charismatic Authority" (see note 38), 89. See also, Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade (1145–1229): Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (Woodbridge, UK, and Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press in conjunction with Boydell Press, 2001), 78–108.

65 Kienzle, "Crisis and Charismatic Authority" (see note 38), 89–91. See also, on women's preaching, Kienzle, "Sermons and Preaching," *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret Schaus. Routledge Encyclopedias of the Middle Ages (New York: Routledge, 2006), 736–40; *Women Preachers and Prophets Through Two Millennia of Christianity*, ed. Barbara Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998); and, Alcuin Blamires, "Women and Preaching in Medieval Orthodoxy, Heresy, and Saints' Lives," *Viator* 26 (1995): 135–52.

66 Kienzle, "Crisis and Charismatic Authority" (see note 38), 89, quoting from *Vita Hildegardis*, II, 10, p. 34, ll. 4–5.

67 Kienzle, "Crisis and Charismatic Authority" (see note 38), 90.

and political individuals, as an illustrator of her own works, or as a composer of music.[68] To illustrate this we turn to the first and second volumes of her visionary triad, wherein Hildegard confronts the tradition of Prudentius's *psychomachia*, namely the debate between the virtues and vices.

Newman's research of the *Scivias* in her work entitled "Sibyl of the Rhine" reveals a central role for the Virtues, whom Hildegard portrays as a troupe of beautiful allegorical virgins. But, according to Newman, unlike similar personifications in medieval allegory, Hildegard's Virtues were perceived as "living emanations of the Divine, powerful energies streaming down from God to animate human moral striving."[69] Regarding the Vices, to which Hildegard gave more attention in the second volume of the trilogy, the *Liber vitae meritorum (The Book of Life's Merits)*, she broke with the medieval literary convention of also portraying them as female. Instead, she presented the Vices as "grotesque, parodic creatures, part human and part animal, to make sin as ugly as possible."[70] Here again we also see the use of language by Hildegard to enhance the effectiveness of her visions. She uses what Newman characterizes as "seductive speeches" in the voices of the Vices because after all, "the business of the Vices is to make sin attractive."[71]

In the combat of the two, Hildegard enhances the drama of the conflict out of her own self-knowledge that it is necessary to understand good and evil in order to achieve moral discernment and right action.[72] In the *Scivias* she gives particular attention to sexual vices because they affected both the clergy and the laity. Therein she condemns fornication in many forms, men with women, men with men, with the latter act characterized in this manner: "A man who sins with another man according to the manner of women, sins bitterly against

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68 For a collection of articles that attempt to put her various works into the twelfth-century cultural context, see Newman, ed., *Voice of the Living Light* (see note 3). On the inattention to the outside world, see Kienzle, "The Twelfth-Century Monastic Sermon," *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 271–323; here 306–12. Regarding the prohibition against monks' preaching, see Giles Constable, "The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries," *Traditio* 9 (1953): 213–79; here 276–77.

69 Newman, "Sibyl of the Rhine," *Voice of the Living Light*, ed. Newman (see note 63), 17.

70 Newman, "Sibyl of the Rhine" (see note 63), 17.

71 Newman, "Sibyl of the Rhine" (see note 63), 18.

72 Newman, "Sibyl of the Rhine" (see note 63), 18. See also the work of Gabriele Lautenschläger, *Hildegard von Bingen: Die theologische Grundlegung ihrer Ethik und Spiritualität* (Stuttgart and Bad Canstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1993); and of Elisabeth Gössmann, "*Scientica Boni et Mali:* Science and Faith in Hildegard of Bingen," *Hildegard of Bingen: Four Papers* (Toronto: Peregina, 1995), 38–46.

God and against that conjunction by which God joined man and woman."[73] The choice of words here is significant and goes beyond the biblical condemnation found in Leviticus (18:22; 20:13) and Romans (1:27). Hildegard is accusing male homosexuals of perverting "the natural order because God decreed that copulation should be between a stronger (man) and a weaker (woman), so that they might be mutually sustained."[74] She expressed similar contempt for female homosexuality, and masturbation by both sexes, and prescribed harsh remedies for all of these acts, such as lamentation, fasting, maceration of the flesh, and heavy beatings.

In *The Book of Life's Merits*, according to Flanagan, Hildegard approached the theme of how to live a good life in a way similar to that found in the *Scivias*, but there are some differences. In the second volume, for example, she gives more attention to the Vices, and treats the corresponding Virtues as more of a way of defining and describing the Vices than as a means to overcome them.[75] In both volumes her use of language is key to the establishment of her role as prophet. In the *Scivias*, all explanations of the visions were, to quote Flanagan, "clearly marked as having come from the voice from heaven," but in *Life's Merits* "the voice is sometimes Hildegard's" and she uses the repetition of key sentences "to serve to give the work a formal, ritualistic cast, emphasizing the prophetic nature of the work."[76]

In the *Scivias* Hildegard is likely targeting individuals and using the voice of the images that accompany the text to draw the readers into a more personal interaction between their own inner voices and that of outer voice of the visions. Flanagan suggests that the relationship between the two volumes is symbiotic and that Hildegard saw the two as related in such a way that she did not need to treat the Virtues exactly the same in the *Life's Merits*. For example, the last five vices (scurrility, instability, black magic, avarice and worldly sadness) in that volume cannot be matched directly with any group of Virtues in *Scivias*. Regardless of her intention with respect to audience, her manipulation of the language in both volumes appealed to much broader audiences and was used in collective ways just as productively.

We know that *Life's Merits* was read aloud in the refectories of the Cistercians at Villers and the Benedictines at Gembloux, and it is likely that because the fame of the *Scivias* spread so rapidly, that it was also subject to a more public

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73 Flanagan, *Hildegard* (see note 3), 66–67 (quoting from *Scivias* 2, vis. 6, ch. 78).
74 Flanagan, *Hildegard* (see note 3), 67.
75 Flanagan, *Hildegard* (see note 3), 69.
76 Flanagan, *Hildegard* (see note 3), 69.

reading.[77] Similarly, it seems that Hildegard intended her work to reach an audience that was much broader than the nuns of her monastery or the monks who wrote requesting copies. For example, her list of virtues and vices is more than twice that of the original seven pairs found in the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius.

5 A Mysterious Voice

Perhaps most symbolic of the issues surrounding the use of language by Hildegard is brought to our attention more recently by Sarah Higley in her 2007 study of the *Lingua Ignota*.[78] In a reliquary at Rüdesheim there are two known remains of Hildegard—her heart and her tongue. Contained in the Wiesbaden Riesendcodex version of Hildegard's *Lingua* is the fifty-ninth invented word—*Ranzgia*—which is interpreted as either "language" or "tongue."[79] Overall, the *Lingua* is Hildegard's constructed glossary of new, unknown words for the praise of the Church and for the description and reflection upon the things of her inner world. Thus, the remains in the reliquary might be seen to represent ironically the two most influential aspects of Hildegard's life—her passion and her voices. Virtually unknown in her own time, the *Lingua*, like much of her other writing, is only now being studied with an attempt to place it in the proper context.[80]

One purpose of Higley's study is to situate Hildegard's work in the fifteen-hundred-year history of imaginary language making, while noting that language creation was demonized as a curse in the Middle Ages.[81] Add to this the fact that the words in the *Lingua* were created by a woman makes it more clear as to why knowledge of the text may have been purposefully suppressed in Hildegard's

77 Flanagan, *Hildegard* (see note 3), 71.
78 Sarah L. Higley, *Hildegard of Bingen's Unknown Language: an Edition, Translation, and Discussion*. The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). Also, see Peter Dronke, "Hildegard's Invention: Aspects of Her Language and Imagery," *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld* (see note 38), 299–320.
79 Higley, *Unknown Language* (see note 78), 3.
80 The validity of Hildegard's authorship of the *Lingua Ignota* has not been without challenge. In the 1950s, for example, Bertha Widmer and others raised issues of context, power, and authenticity, and in particular, found the text to be too audacious and immodest to have come from a known virgin and an abbess. Bertha Widmer, *Heilsordnung und Zeitgeschehen in der Mystik Hildegards von Bingen*. Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 52 (Basel and Stuttgart: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1955), 17. However, as summarized in the work of Higley [*Unknown Language* (see note 78), 4–18], recent scholars no longer question her authorship.
81 Higley, *Unknown Language* (see note 78), 7.

own time, and why she stopped working on it at about the same time as her preaching began.[82] In fact, given what else we know about Hildegard's instincts for working successfully within the elite, it is likely that Hildegard herself took measures to insure that her work with a new language was not made public, lest she raise suspicions about her orthodoxy and conservatism as she tried to enhance her personal influence through her preaching.

My point in this study of her multilingualism is to suggest that the *Lingua Ignota* illustrates further how Hildegard understood the power of language and how she used it. Since her actual purpose for its creation is unknown, it has become a topic for debate among modern scholars. Newman suggests, for example, that Hildegard may have intended to create a secret language in order to instill a sense of mystical solidarity among her nuns.[83]

As Flanagan relates, the more common notion among scholars has been that it was meant to "approximate the language of the virgin throng in heaven,"[84] but this is challenged by the existence of so many words in the glossary that deal with the things of everyday life.[85] Higley concludes that the *Lingua* is a

> linguistic distillation of the philosophy expressed in her three prophetic books; it repre-
> sents the cosmos of divine and human creation and the sins that flesh is heir to," or,
> that it is "a summation of Hildegard's philosophies and her sense of category and status.[86]

If Higley is correct in her deductions about the likely dates of composition of the *Lingua*, that is, from 1150 to 1158, this adds further to the credibility of her hypothesis. This means Hildegard began to conceive of the *Lingua* during the final stages of her writing of the *Scivias*, and she continued to compile the *Lingua* as she wrote volume two of her visionary trilogy.

Before reading Higley's study, it also occurred to me that the *Lingua Ignota* might be an attempt by Hildegard to create a language to communicate the visions in a voice that more distinctly represented the voice of God itself, and one that only she could understand. Thus, besides her knowledge and use of Latin (limited as it may have been) and German to communicate her messages, she now would add a third that would clearly distinguish her own role in transmitting the voice of God.

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82 Higley, *Unknown Language* (see note 78), 8–11.
83 *Scivias* (see note 3), intro., 13. Cf. Higley, *Unknown Language* (see note 78), 28.
84 Flanagan, *Hildegard* (see note 3), 205 n.2.
85 Higley, *Unknown Language* (see note 78), 28.
86 Higley, *Unknown Language* (see note 78), 29.

6 Charisma

Throughout this brief study of the voices of Hildegard, there are allusions to her charisma. When scholars have examined the definition and use of the term as derived from its Greek roots meaning a "gracious gift," they have often turned to the work of Max Weber.[87] In his *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, Weber offered this concept of charisma:

> The term 'charisma' will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities ... not regarded as accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and ... the individual concerned is treated as a leader .... What is alone important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic authority by his 'followers' or 'disciples.'[88]

Earlier in this study we noted how Hildegard exhibited these personal qualities and took care to build her own image and reputation using the power of prophecy to establish a relationship with her audiences that I would argue meets this definition of charisma. She became a charismatic leader that allowed her to step beyond the traditional boundaries that constrained a woman and enabled her to become an effective preacher, prophet, letter writer, and advocate for reform in several creative forms that define her multilingualism. I would further argue that her multilingualism enhanced her charisma. Charisma, as Weber notes above, is based on a relationship between a leader and a community that regarded her as divinely inspired. In this two-way relationship, the needs of the community are "projected onto the charismatic leader," and in a religious com-

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87 For a brief general overview, see Katherine L. Jansen and Miri Rubin, ed., *Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Preaching, 1200–1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 4–12. Also, see, David Norman Smith, "Faith, Reason, and Charisma: Rudolf Sohm, Max Weber, and the Theology of Grace," *Sociological Inquiry* 68 (1998): 32–60; Edward Shils, "Charisma, Order, and Status," *American Sociological Review* 30 (1965): 199–213. For changes in the meaning of the term over time, see Philip Rieff, *Charisma: The Gift of Grace and How it Has Been Taken Away from Us* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2007). Also see C. Stephen Jaeger, *Enchantment: On Charisma and the Sublime in the Arts of the West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

88 Jansen and Rubin, *Charisma* (see note 87), 4, quoting from Weber's text which was reprinted as "The Nature of Charismatic Authority and its Routinization," *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Papers*, ed. Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt. The Heritage of Sociology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 48–65; here 48.

munity the stakes are high, namely "the promise of hope, redemption, salvation."[89] The role of the charismatic leader is to provide a vision of how to achieve the goals and inspire the community to action with creative symbols and colorful images.

Hildegard certainly fulfilled that role with her written works of prophecy, her illustrations of those works, as well as her poetry, her music, and her powerful sermons. It was a multilingual set of voices that facilitated the interaction with her communities, lay and religious alike; and they continued to seek her counsel and her understanding of the Voice of God which first came to her as an inner voice, and which she subsequently labored to communicate outward to the audiences around her. Hildegard's frequent use of the symbol of the "Voice of the Living Light" was powerful. Though her writings were sometimes obscure, perhaps purposefully so to enhance the notion that they did not come from her, this fulfilled what Weber deemed as the need for the charismatic person to create a sense of "otherness" in order to validate the message.[90]

As summarized by Jansen and Rubin, "The charismatic leader demonstrates authority by preaching, creating and demanding new obligations, while at the same time evoking an associating with the sacred symbols of the shared religious culture."[91] Hildegard clearly did so in many instances, such as in her preaching to urge the Christian community to rid itself of the danger of the Cathars. Moreover, somehow Hildegard seemed to recognize that the development of her own charisma was a process that required careful interaction with and cultivation of the various components of her traditional Christian communities.[92]

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89 Martin E. Spencer, "What is Charisma?" *British Journal of Sociology* 24 (1973): 341–54; here 347. See also, Jansen and Rubin, *Charisma* (see note 87), 5. Also, Ann Ruth Willner and Dorothy Willner, "The Rise and Role of Charismatic Leaders," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 35 (1965): 77–88; and Douglas Barnes, "Charisma and Religious Leadership: An Historical Analysis," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 17 (1978): 1–18.
90 Jansen and Rubin, *Charisma* (see note 87), 6. See also, Clifford Geertz, "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in his *Local Knowledge: Further Essays on Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 121–46.
91 Jansen and Rubin, *Charisma* (see note 87), 7.
92 For further analysis of this process, see Barbara Finlay, "The Origins of Charisma as Process: A Case Study of Hildegard of Bingen," *Symbolic Interaction* 25 (2002): 537–54.

7 Conclusion

So far, this brief and tentative exploration of Hildegard's multilingualism seems to suggest several things worth further examination and analysis. First, Hildegard was very versatile in her use of voices and her voices were intermingled with various forms of artistic expression, namely writing, oratory, music, and visual illustration. But Hildegard could also manipulate modes, especially the dramatic, and in doing so seems to represent an unusually powerful example of the Aristotelian qualities of human knowledge: Epistēmē—empeiría—téchnē—that is, knowledge of a defined subject; a knack for specific tasks which has developed from personal experience; and, a system and method for expressing that knowledge.[93]

In particular, given the reputation of the *Scivias* in its own time and today, one could argue that this is part of what one finds at the core of "the persuasiveness of artful language."[94] As she portrayed the struggle of the virtues and the vices as the essence of the good life in the *Scivias*, Hildegard demonstrated knowledge of the subject, the knack for specific tasks in modeling the good life, and a system wrapped in the language of illumination provided by her inner voice that enabled her to speak with persuasion.

Second, on another level, we should be intrigued by what Higley refers to as the beauty of Hildegard's *Lingua Ignota*,[95] which I would argue extends to her use of language throughout her works. Higley reminds us of at least one reason why we are attracted to mystics, visionaries, and tongues speakers—namely, that humans are in love with the "fool" and the "naïf." In hearing Tolkien recite "A Elbereth Gilthoniel," for example, Higley says we might now think of the macaronic antiphon "Orzchis Ecclesia" from the mouth of Hildegard.[96] There is a loss of control in ecstasy or fantasy that excites, as Higley notes, and there is a quality in the *Lingua* of Hildegard that one finds in the modern language inventions exemplified by Tolkien, Suzette Haden Elgin, Ursula K. Le Guin, and Paul Burgess, or even the Internet glossopoeists.[97] For Higley, the *Lingua* was a thing of beauty

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93 Mary Carruthers, ed., *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delights and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1.

94 Carruthers, ed., *Rhetoric Beyond Words* (see note 93), 3.

95 Higley, *Unknown Language* (see note 78), 101.

96 Higley, *Unknown Language* (see note 78), 100; 97.

97 Higley, *Unknown Language* (see note 78), 100. On the Internet glossopoeists, see Higley 81–88; for Elgin and LeGuin, see Higley, 88–95; and Burgess, see Higley 108–110. Tolkein fans may need no introduction to glossopoeia or CONLANG (a shortcut for a constructed language), but others may want to refer to libray.conlang.com or www.carolandray.plus.com. See also, Jef-

because it derived from an inspiration from language itself, that is, "by language and language mysteries, language and music,"[98] and because it brought the "spiritual and the material together … making the familiar strange, or rather making the things of the world divine again through the alterity of new signs."[99] This attention to the mystery of language made it possible for Hildegard to influence many others in her *Scivias*, her letters, and her preaching against the Cathars.

In closing this reflection on Hildegard's multilingualism I am focused on the way her recorded visions reflect her responses to the command for her to "speak and write what she saw and heard." Her various voices, inner and outer alike, whether spoken, written, sung, preached, or mysteriously reflected in the *Lingua Ignota*, all exemplify the power of language used in clarifying ways.

frey Schnapp, "Virgin Words: Hildegard of Bingen's Lingua Ignota and the Development of Imaginary Languages Ancient to Modern," *Exemplaria* 3 (1991): 267–98.

98 Higley, *Unknown Language* (see note 78), 111.
99 Higley, *Unknown Language* (see note 78), 111.

Yasmine Beale-Rivaya (Texas State University)

At the Crossroads of Languages

The Linguistics Choices along Border Communities of the Reconquista in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

The language used by a community is often determined by the geographical and socio-political history in which it resides. Languages and dialects are frequently bound by natural geographical borders, such as rivers, mountains, or by artificial political boundaries. A central linguistic concept is that fully developed languages can be learned as a second language.[1] Although a language may be tightly associated with a particular group, no group owns or has exclusivity on a particular language. When it comes to the Mozarabs (Arabized Christians in medieval Iberia) or the Mudéjares (Muslims living in Christian territories in medieval Iberia), the language they used is closely associated with their identity.

Scholars such as Federico Corriente, and Francisco Marcos Marín have argued that the language of the Mozarabs should be categorized, analyzed, and treated in terms of its structure and not be classified primarily by its presumed cultural significance, as has been the tendency in the past.[2] A more linguistically precise way to refer to the language of the Mozarabs could be to call it *Andalusí-Romance*, which would highlight the fact that the Mozarabs and other commun-

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[1] An exception to this may be languages used for ceremonial purposes where only a small handful of a community may have access to all of the lexicon. This is typical in Native American communities, for example.

[2] Federico Corriente has written extensively on the issue of Mozarabic and what he calls the Andalusí dialect bundle: Federico Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1977); id., "Andalusi Romance (Formerly 'Mozarabic'): A Language in Contact Poorly Transmitted and Translated," *Lenguas en contacto: El testimonio escrito*, ed. Pedro Bádenas de la Peña, Sofía Torallas Tovar, Eugenio R. Luján, and María Ángeles Gallego. Manuales y anejos de emérita, 48 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2004), 281–86; Francisco Marcos Marín focuses more on the definition of the lexemes than the structure of the languages in question. See Fransciso Marcos Marín, "Romance andalusí y mozárabe: Dos términos no sinónimos," *Estudios de lingüística y filología españolas: Homenaje a Germán Colón*, ed. Germán Colón, Irene Andrés Suárez, and Luis López Molina (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1998), 335–42; Ignacio Ferrando Frutos follows the same tradition looking at the history of the Arabic language in the Mozarabic documents and the Romance words included in the Arabic language documents. Ignacio Ferrando Frutos, *Introducción a la historia de la lengua árabe: Nuevas perspectivas* (Zaragoza: Navarro & Navarro, 2001); id., "Los romancismos de los documentos mozárabes de Toledo," *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 6 (1995): 71–86.

ities in Al-Andalus spoke a Romance particular to that geographical area. However, the preferred term continues to be *Mozarabic*.

By favoring the term *Mozarabic* over *Romanceandalusí*, scholars are implicitly linking a language with an identity and implying that no other community or person of other identity can also learn that language. While it has been shown that the notarial documents of Toledo and Huesca have the same linguistic structure, those of Toledo are considered Mozarabic while those of Huesca are considered Mudéjar (of Muslims living in Christian lands). Likewise, the language in the documents of Toledo is considered Mozarabic, while that of Huesca is called Arabic. The argument is that the names in the documents of Huesca are those of Mudéjar families, while those of Toledo are of Mozarabic ones.[3] This division of the documents as two different languages is an artificial one that climaxes the supposed cultural aspects of the languages rather than their structure. Scholars such as Francisco Hernández have highlighted the uniqueness of the Mozarabic identity and their documents.[4] The Mozarabs hold a sort of 'special status' in medieval Iberia, in great part constructed through early modern academic constructs. These constructs make it difficult and, at times, impossible, to compare the Mozarab experience to that of any other community.[5] This also implies that the Mozarabs allowed anyone into their community and that no one could learn their language. This approach favors a monolingual model, which tacitly dismisses the complex multi-faceted society in medieval Iberia. Further, it implies a passive attitude toward language.

This paper explores why and how Mozarabs and Mudéjares, alike, living in newly reconquered Christian territories, selected a language and suggests that

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3 Yasmine Beale-Rivaya, "Ethnic and Linguistic Pluralisms in the Arabic Documents of the Cathedral of Huesca in Aragón," *Revisiting Convivencia in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, ed. Connie Scarborough (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2014), 387 – 404.

4 Francisco Hernández, "Language and Cultural Identity; The Mozarabs of Toledo," *Boletín burriel* 1 (1989): 29 – 48; id., "Lengua e identidad cultural; Los mozárabes de Toledo," *I Curso de Cultural Medieval*, ed. Francesc Xavier Mingorance i Ricart (Aguilar de Campo, Spain: Publisher, 1991), 15 – 27.

5 Arguably the two most influential early modern scholars on the issue of the Mozarabs are Francisco Javier Simonet, professor at the University of Granada, and Francisco Pons Boigues, archivist in Toledo. These are their most important works: Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*. Vol. 1 – 4 (Madrid: Turner, 1889); id., *Historia de los mozárabes de España deducida de los mejores y más auténticos testimonios de los escritores cristianos y árabes* (Madrid: Viuda e hijos de M. Tello, 1897); Francisco Pons Boigues, *Apuntes sobre las escrituras mozárabes toledanas que se conservan en el Archivo Histórico Nacional* (Madrid: Viuda e Hijos de Tello, 1897).

language performance was an active choice reflecting an objective assessment of the relationship between language and power.

Introduction

Activities related to the Mozarabic (Arabized-Christian) community of medieval Toledo are often treated in scholarship as examples of an exceptional community, unlike anything else in medieval Iberia.[6] In particular, the Mozarabs are often considered sovereign and profoundly independent; their relationship with the Church is seen as unique; their intellectual endeavors, such as their involvement in the *Escuela de traductores*, are cited as being exceptional; and, finally, their use of language is considered so unique that scholars such as Francisco Hernández have argued that their language use cannot be compared to that of any other community. The language of the Mozarabs has come to represent much more than embodying another example of medieval language performance. The use of Romance by this community, often called *Mozarabic,* throughout the Andalusí period, for example, has come to symbolize the Mozarabs' persistent, almost stubborn, resistance to Muslim authorities.[7] Likewise, their use of Arabic, often referred to as 'el árabe de los mozárabes,' the Arabic *of* the Mozarabs, in Christian Toledo has also been attributed to the Mozarabs' desire to maintain cultural, political, and economic independence from the new Northern Christian authorities.

By favoring terms such as Mozarabic and Arabic of the Mozarabs which point to a particular group identity, scholars are implicitly linking a language to this identity. This approach tacitly dismisses the complex multi-faceted society that medieval Iberia was composed of and it obstructs scholars from further exploring the relationship between language performance and power. The binding of a language to a particular identity negates the fact that languages are not ex-

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6 Yasmine Beale-Rivaya, "The Escalating Influence of Romance in the Documents of the Mozárabes of Toledo in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *La Corónica* 40–42 (Spring 2012): 20–25; eadem, "The History and Evolution of the Term 'Mozarab'," *Imago Temporis* 4.2 (2010): 51–72.

7 D. Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens Mozarabes et Culture Islamique Dans l'Espagne des VIII-IX siècles* (Paris: Etudes augustiennes, 1984); Edward P. Colbert, *The Martyrs of Córdoba (850–859): A Study of the Sources* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1962); Feliciano Delgado León, *Alvaro de Cordoba y la polémica contra el islam en el Indiculus Luminosus* (Córdoba: Publicaciones obra social y cultural Cajasur, 1996); Rafael Morales, *Leyendas de al-Andalus*. (Madrid: Aguilar, 1960).

clusive to particular peoples but can be learned by people from outside of that community. Thus, one important aspect of language performance is that it is also a cultural performance. Ignoring this aspect of language results in the same sort of laguna or 'amnesia' that scholars such as David Wacks and Michelle Hamilton have criticized with regard to the treatment of Jewish literature in medieval Iberia.[8] This paper explores the use of both the Arabic and the Romance languages of the Mozarabs and considers different language models to show that the Mozarabs neither 'owned' these languages nor were they 'passive' performers; rather, they used languages based on their objective assessment of their practicality in the exertion and maintenance of power.

The Implications in a Name

There are two main collections of documents associated with the Mozarabic community. One is written in Romance and the other in Arabic. Of the two, however, the most popularly known is the one in Romance. The type of Romance in the documents has been referred to as *Mozarabic*. The implication is that those documents in Arabic are somehow less Mozarabic even though they were produced in the same periods, in the same community, and for similar purposes.[9] In this manner, the term Mozarabic has been very closely coupled with a type of Romance that was spoken and used for official documents in Toledo throughout the Andalusí period. Early scholars such as Francisco de Simonet and Francisco Pon Boigues underscored the use of the term *Mozarabic* over any other option because it closely associated the language contained within the documents to that particular community.[10] Simonet argued that the Mozarabs represented a continuous 'Spanish' identity that was grounded in the Visigothic era, persisted against constant attack and repression throughout the Andalusí period, and finally re-emerged triumphant and unaffected by Arab culture and language dur-

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8 David A. Wacks, *Framing Iberia: Maqamat and Frametale Narratives in Medieval Spain* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007). Michelle Hamilton, *Representing Others in Medieval Iberian Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

9 Yasmine Beale-Rivaya, "Ethnic and Linguistic Pluralisms in the Arabic Documents of the Cathedral of Huesca in Aragón," *Revisiting Convivencia in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (see note 3) 387 – 404.

10 Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España.*; id., *Historia de los mozárabes de España deducida de los mejores y más auténticos testimonios de los escritores cristianos y árabes* (see note 5); Francisco Pons Boigues, *Apuntes sobre las escrituras mozárabes toledanas que se conservan en el Archivo Histórico Nacional* (see note 5).

ing the reconquest. When the term Mozarabic is used to refer to language, it subtly conveys the idea of linguistic ownership; that said language belongs to and is exclusive to the Mozarabic community. This has, in turn, helped to perpetuate the idea that the Mozarabs were a distinct community within Al-Andalus that was closely and primarily identified through language as well as religious identity. By focusing on the homogeneous nature of the Mozarabic community, scholars such as Simonet and Pons Boigues have added a layer of opacity that in essence glosses over all of the complex relationships depicted in the very documents being described. This strategy emphasizes a degree of separation between the Mozarabs and other communities that coexisted with them throughout the entire middle Ages.

To construct his argument, Simonet cited heavily Jiménez de Rada, the Archbishop of Toledo in the thirteenth century, who, ironically, viewed the same community as suspect, and representative of a loss of cultural purity, and not an emblem of Spanish purity as Simonet claimed. De Rada attributed a Latin root for the etymologically Arabic term *Mozarab,* meaning ʹArabic-likeʹ and called them the pejorative *mixti árabes* 'mixed with Arabs.' Richard Hitchcock has also challenged Simonetʹs heroic depiction of the Mozarab as a bastion of Spanish identity by pointing out that the notarial documents of the Mozarabs reveal de Radaʹs profound distrust of the Mozarabs. Hitchcock argues that the documents reveal a systematic plan by de Rada to isolate and minimize the power of the Mozarabic community in Toledo precisely because of their ʹArabness.ʹ Unmistakably, the term *Mozarabic* is culturally loaded; on the one hand it has been used to argue for an unaltered (read: not mixed with Arab), Latin-based identity, and on the other, it is precisely that mixed identity that caused the planned segregation of the community.

By correlating the Romance used by the Mozarabs exclusively with the lexeme *Mozarabic*, linguists of medieval Iberia have fallen in to the same errors that David Wacks and Michelle Hamilton have criticized medieval Iberian literary scholars for. Ignoring the Jewish contributions to Hispanic literature produces the effect of essentially erasing the Jewish voice in medieval Iberia and placing the Jewish-Hispanic heritage outside of the Spanish history. By entirely associating the term *Mozarabic* with Romance, linguists have expunged and ignored the multi-lingual nature of this border area community.

Just as today using the term 'Spanish' to describe the language of the Spanish people is not unproblematic, naming the Romance found in the documents produced by the Mozarabic community as *Mozarabic* also presents a broad range

of problems.[11] In addition to pointing out the problematic nature of associating Mozarabic with Romance, Federico Corriente and Francisco Marcos Marín have challenged the term itself, favoring *Romanceandalusí*.[12] They argue that the term *Romanceandalusí* is more fitting because it highlights the structure of the language and its ties to a geographical area rather than emphasizing the supposed ties of the language to a particular group. Further, by favoring the term *Mozarabic* over *Romanceandalusí,* scholars implicitly link a language with a particular constructed identity. Associating the Mozarabs exclusively with one language, most often Romance, implies a passive attitude on behalf of the Mozarabs toward language use. The presumption of linguistic passivity would be ironic given how much self-determination is traditionally associated with the Mozarabic identity. The insistence in perpetuating the use of the term *Mozarabic* when used to refer to language, favors a monolingual model, which tacitly dismisses the complex multi-faceted society that was found in medieval Iberia.

Similarly, insisting on the exceptionality of the Arabic in the documents attributed to the Mozarabs, also serves to create a degree of separation between the Mozarabs and the rest of the community with which they reside. The result is that whether a document produced by the Mozarabs is in Romance or in Arabic, it becomes incomparable to other analogous examples of language use in medieval Iberia around the same period.[13] The Mozarabs are at the same time a central figure in the transition from Andalusí Toledo to Christian Toledo and an isolated group whose identity, and priorities are immovable in a time defined

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11 The term 'Spanish' is problematic because it ties the language to the country of Spain. While it is the place of origin for the language, Spanish is also spoken all over Latin America. In Latin America today, there is some tension with regards to the two most common terms, Castilian and Spanish, used to make reference to the language. Both seem to de-emphasize the importance of the Latin American community with regards to the language. Further, it may also be taken to imply that the other languages of culture such as Catalán, Galician, and Asturian are somehow less Spanish than the language that is called Spanish, not to mention Basque, which is not even an Indo-European language.

12 Federico Corriente, "Andalusi Romance (Formerly 'Mozarabic'): A Language in Contact Poorly Transmitted and Translated," *Lenguas en contacto: El testimonio escrito*, ed. Pedro Bádenas de la Peña (Madrid: CSIC, 2004), 281–86; Federico Corriente and Ángel Sáenz-Badillos, "Apostillas a las xarajat árabes en muwassahat hebreas," *Romárica Arábica* 70 (1996): 281–98. Francisco Marcos Marín, "Épica árabe y épica hispánica: Contribución a una crítica de la historia literaria en España, Capítulo medieval," *Boletín de la Asociación española de orientalistas* 15 (1979): 169–75.

13 One scholar who insists on Mozarabic exceptionality is Francisco Hernandez: Francisco Hernández, Francisco. "Language and Cultural Identity; The Mozarabs of Toledo," *Boletín burriel* 1 (1989): 29–48.

by change.[14] Moreover, the use of Arabic is considered almost accidental, often treated as a matter of tradition. Recent scholarship, however, has demonstrated that the use of one language or another during the first two centuries after the Reconquest of Toledo in 1085 C.E., seems to have been purposeful; a calculated act based on a rational evaluation of which language best served the economic purpose at hand.[15]

While the Mozarabs are considered an emblematic community in medieval Iberia, the manner in which the scholarship has approached the study of this community, has regularly served to construct a one-dimensional, monolingual, and inert figure that is not an agent in its own activities, especially with regards to their language practices.

Language and Power

The language used by a community is often determined by the geographical and socio-political history in which that community resides.[16] Languages and dialects are frequently bound by natural geographical borders, such as rivers, mountains, or by artificial political boundaries.[17] The Mozarabs were also

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14 An example of the contribution of the Mozarabs to the transition of Toledo from Andalusí to Christian Iberia is their role in the translation and preservation of documents. Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, *El dialecto Mozárabe de Toledo, I: Sistema de Transliteración del aljamiado mozárabe* (Madrid: Escuela de estudios árabes, 1977), 183. Susana Guijarro González and Marcelino Agís Villaverde. *Maestros, escuelas y libros: El universo cultural de las catedrales en la Castilla medieval* (Getafe, Madrid Madrid: Instituto Antonio de Nebrija de estudios sobre la universidad, 2004). Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs: C. 1050–1200* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

15 Yasmine Beale-Rivaya, "Ethnic and Linguistic Pluralisms in the Arabic Documents of the Cathedral of Huesca in Aragón," *Revisiting Convivencia in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (see note 3), 387–404.

16 This paradigm does not take into account recent mass migrations.

17 For more on language and geography, see: Harrold B. Allen and Michael D. Linn, *Dialect and Language Variation* (Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 1986). Edward F. Tuttle, "Nasalization in Northern Italy: Syllabic Constraints and Strength Scales as Developmental Parameters," *Rivista Di Linguistica* 3.1 (1991): 23–92; id., "The Spread of Esse as Universal Auxiliary in Central Italo-Romance," *Medioevo Romanzo* 11.2 (1986): 229–87. Lori Repetti and Edward F. Tuttle, "The Evolution of Latin Pl, Bl, Fl, and Cl, Gl in Western Romance," *Studi Mediolatini e Volgari* 33 (1987): 53–115. Marck Graham, Scott A. Hale, and Devin Gaffney, "Where in the World Are You? Geolocation and Language Identification in Twitter," *The Professional Geographer* 66.4 (2014): 568–78.

bound by geography. The ones studied here, lived in Toledo, a central city in the Iberian Peninsula that served as a border city between Christian kingdoms and Al-Andalus. Toledo, itself, is located on a higher plain and is flanked by a major river called the Tajo. Therefore, the geography of Toledo is not irrelevant to the language practices of the Mozarabs.

A central concept is that fully developed languages can be learned as a second language.[18] Although a language may be tightly associated with a particular group, no group owns or has exclusivity on a particular language. A language can be learned by someone who is outside of that particular identity group. The model that has prevailed regarding the Mozarabs' language use of exclusive language ownership oversimplifies the complex multilingual interaction that characterized the border areas between Al-Andalus and Christian Iberia, and ultimately serves to undermine and distort the complex cultural and economic dynamic of the region. The Mozarabs, often called Arabized-Christians, lived in a complex border area, and their very identity includes elements that reflect this complexity. Their identity is not one-dimensional. It follows then, that their language practices reflect this.

Perhaps, a slightly more nuanced approach to understanding the Mozarabic identity and the relationship of that community to the Romance and Arabic languages is a diglossic model. *Diglossia* occurs when a language that enjoys a degree of relative stability co-exists with a standard or codified version of the same. Each variety is in complementary distribution and is relegated to a particular domain, such as: the public-private sphere; formal or informal registers; written or spoken contexts.[19] The domains of each language type (H or L) can be viewed as reflecting a hierarchical structure; one, the one used in formal and written contexts, having a High value (H) and the other, limited to informal speech, Low value (L).[20] In medieval Europe, Latin was used for "religion, education, literacy, and other such prestigious domains, while another language (in the case of medieval Europe, the vernacular languages of that era) is rarely used for such pur-

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18 An exception to this are languages used for ceremonial purposes where only a small handful of a community may have access to all of the lexicon. This is typical in Native American communities such as the Navajo.

19 María Angeles Gallego, "The Languages of Medieval Iberia and Their Religious Dimension," *Medieval Encounters* 9 (2003): 107–39.

20 Joshua A. Fishman, Joshua A, "Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia; Diglossia With and Without Bilingualism." *The Journal of Social Issues* XXIII.2 (1967): 29–38. Harold F. Schiffman, "Diglossia as a Sociolinguistic Situation" *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, ed. Florian Coulmas (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 205–16.

poses, being employed for more informal, primarily spoken domains."[21] Such was the case in northern nedieval Iberia until the middle of the thirteenth century, where the Romance languages were in a diglossic relationship with a genetically related language, Latin, where Latin served as the H language, used by the Church and the Courts. Joshua Blau has argued for a similar model in the Middle East where Standard Arabic was used for literary and cultural purposes, and Middle Arabic was used for everyday communication. This strict binary structure can be seen as slowly deteriorating when medieval Arabic documents notaries attempted to adhere to the norms of Classical Arabic by using classical formulas but increasingly intermixed these formulas with regional linguistic conventions. This is especially notable in the dated Christian texts from the second half of the ninth century from South Palestine. 'Substandard' Middle Arabic is seen freely interchanging with attempts to write in Classical Arabic.[22]

The concept of diglossia can also be applied to non-genetically related languages that are strictly relegated to distinct social contexts. This sub-type of diglossia is often referred to as *extended* diglossia.[23] Examples of extended diglossia can be found in India where "Sanskrit [functions as H] and Kannada [functions as the L];" in the Middle East where classical Arabic is in complementary distribution with the vernacular dialects such as Egyptian, Syrian, Palestinian; and in Al-Andalus, where Arabic served as the H language, while Romance served as the L. I suggest that along the Andalusí-Christian border areas, rather than a *di*glossic relationship, Arabic, Romance, and Latin entered a *tri*glossic relationship. The scholarship generally assumes that, in these border areas, in the towns under Christian control that Latin was considered the H language, Romance was the L language, and Arabic was assigned the third category of *other* also used language. Yet, there is little reflection on the motivations for the maintenance of all these language options well into the thirteenth century. The diglossic model presumes a tight one to one correlation between the language used and the exhibition and exertion of power.

The H language is presumed to be the language of the governing authority, the language of the Court, and thus, the language of economic mobility. The L language is presumed to be the informal language or, the language of the unedu-

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21 Harold F. Schiffman, "Diglossia as a Sociolinguistic Situation," *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. ed. Florian Coulmas (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 205 – 16; here 208.

22 Blau, Joshua. *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic.* Max Schloessinger Memorial Series, Monograph 6 (Jerusalem: Max Schloessinger Memorial Foundation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002). Harold F. Schiffman, "Diglossia as a Sociolinguistic Situation," *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (see note 21), 206.

23 Ibid.

cated common person, who, by definition of only having access to the L language, does not have access to the power hierarchy. One who can communicate in both the H and the L language, chooses to do so based on his perception of the benefit of that particular linguistic performance. It implies that language use is a rational choice based on a cost-benefit analysis and consequently negates the cultural aspects of language performance. The diglossic relationship between the languages not only reflects the traditional division of formal versus informal language practices but also reflects an active choice and execution of implicit power. Diglossia therefore not only reflects a high/low-formal/informal dichotomy where one group of people is capable of engaging in formal linguistic interactions and the other is not, but can also reflect an influence/powerlessness duality.

The state of diglossia, however, can only be maintained while doing so is culturally or economically productive for the community. Case studies have shown, for example, that in many migrant communities, where the dominant language is something other than the home language, the second generation loses its ability to actively communicate in the home language and essentially become passive bilinguals.[24] Most often, the third generation has completely lost the family's heritage language unless there are extenuating factors such as: continued renewal of population from the 'home country' that serves to remind the community of said language; or the close association with the home language with the possibility of economic mobility. In the case of the Mozarabs of Toledo, for example, why did they maintain Romanceandalusí during Al-Andalus and Andalusí-Arabic in Christian Toledo? Why did the Mozarabs continue to prefer Andalusí Arabic for their legal documents until well after the conquest of Toledo in 1085 C.E.? Presumably, it must have been linguistically taxing to engage in the H language, Latin, and the L language, Romance koiné, and Andalusí-Arabic all at the same time.

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24 Richard Alba, John Logan, Amy Lutz, and Brian Stults. "Only English by the Third Generation? Loss and Preservation of the Mother Tongue Among the Grandchildren of Contemporary Immigrants," *Demography* 39.3 (2002): 467–84. Margarita Hidalgo, "The Dialectics of Spanish Language Loyalty and Maintenance of the U.S.-Mexico Border: A Two Generation Study," *Spanish in the United States: Linguistic Contact and Diversity*. ed. Ana Roca and John Lipksi. Studies in Anthropological Linguistics, 6 (Berlin: New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999), 47–74. Jean Mills, "Being Bilingual: Perspectives of Third Generation Asian Children on Language, Culture and Identity," *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 4.6 (2001): 383–402. Joseph Salmons, and Wilkerson, Miranda E. "'Good Old Immigrants of Yesteryear' Who Didn't Learn English: Germans in Wisconsin," *American Speech* 83.3 (Fall 2008): 259–83. Alejandro Portes and Richard Schauffler, "Language and the Second Generation: Bilingualism Yesterday and Today," *International Migration Review* (1994): 640–61.

Language as a Reflection of Choice

To use a contemporary framing, the Mozarabs can be seen as the perpetual minority. Neither in Al-Andalus nor in Christian Spain did they enjoy the same privileges as people with less problematic identities. Thus, to maintain a certain level of autonomy, the Mozarabs had to adapt to shifting linguistic and political landscape. For the Mozarabs, language selection was directly related to community success and survival.

The Mozarabs have been closely associated with at least two languages, *Romanceandalusí,* and *Andalusí Arabic.* Although it is difficult to argue for proficient bilingualism, it does seem that, at least, some of the community was able to interact in both languages to different extents. Scholars have argued that Romance was maintained in communities in Al-Andalus, at least in the years of the Arab conquest, as the home language, and Arabic was the public language.[25] The jarchas, a poetic production in Romanceandalusí, can be seen as symbolic of the private linguistic sphere, while, the notarial documents of the Mozarabs, mostly in Andalusí Arabic, represent the public and formal face of the Mozarabic community.

While it may be that in very particular moments of the linguistic history of the Mozarabs the community can be said to have been bilingual and diglossic, in general, it seems that they favored one language over another. During the first two centuries of Al-Andalus (ca. 711–950 C.E.), there is evidence of use of Romance amongst the Andalusí Muslim population, and thus of Arabo-Romance bilingualism. This bilingualism was not limited to one or another ethnic group but rather transcended them; evidenced by the high rate of exchange of vocabulary between the two languages observed in the use of double names, Romance and Arabic, by both communities; and the use of Romance expressions by Muslim peoples in positions of authority.[26]

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25 Mikel de Epalza, "Les Mozarabes, État de la question," *Mintorités religieuses dans l'Espagne médiévale.* eds. Manuela Marín and Joseph Pérez. Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée, 63–64 (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1992), 39–50; id., "Mozarabs: An Emblematic Christian Minority in Islamic al-Andalus," *The Formation of al-Andalus.* ed. Manuela Marín. The Formation of the Classical Islamic World, Vol. 46 (Book 46) *(*Brookfield, Singapore, and Sidney: Ashgate, 1998), 183–204. Robert Burns and Paul Chevedden, *Negotiating Cultures, Bilingual Surrender Treaties in Muslim-Crusader Spain under James the Conqueror, with a Contribution by Mikel de Epalza* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1999).
26 Giorgio Levi della Vida, *Note Di Storia Letteraria Arabo-Ispanica.* (Rome: Istituo per l'Oriente, 1971).

While the official administrative language of Al-Andalus was Classical Arabic, evidence suggests that the native population was using both dialectal Arabic and Romance in daily oral communication. We have limited evidence that proves that this period of bilingualism existed but "even though it is impossible to observe these situations first hand today, they can be inferred from contemporary documentary evidence". The "use of Romance speech by Muslims is documented in the early centuries, although much of the evidence is anecdotal."[27] It is thought that the troops of the conquering armies settled in Al-Andalus, and that they married the native women. Presumably, they had to learn the local language to communicate with their new wives.

It is posited that the Romance language was maintained through the mother line and co-existed with the administrative Arabic language which was transmitted through the fathers. A child exposed to both languages would have naturally performed code-switching, lexical borrowing, and shift. In addition, the process of Arabization in rural areas and among marginalized groups took place at a slower pace than in urban areas.

In Córdoba, the cadí and other functionaries spoke a vulgar Romance in the beginning of the Islamic era.[28]. Eventually, we begin to get testimony regarding the use of both Romance and Arabic in the same contexts. González Palencia argues that "in daily life, Arabic was spoken with a lot of mixing with diverse elements of Latin and Romance dialects of the dominated peoples, formed by a vulgar Arabic dialect that was barely understandable in the Orient" [my translation]. Native Iberians knew and used literary Arabic as early as in the eighth century, just fifty years after the conquest. By the ninth century, the use of Arabic was well established. Abbot Speraindeo's treatise against Islam, which was written in Arabic, demonstrates that he had an intimate and a thorough knowledge of the Muslim practices as well as the Arabic language. In 854 C.E., Álvaro of Córdoba complained vigorously that the Christians of his community were all too readily abandoning the use of Latin in favor of Arabic. He protested:

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27 Juan Martínez Ruiz. "Languages in Contact in Morisco Granada (XVI Century)," *Actas del congreso internacional sobre interferencias linguísticas*. ed. Jordi Aguadé (Madrid: CISC, 1994), 141–56. Consuelo Lopez-Morillas "Language and Identity in Late Spanish Islam," *Hispanic Review* 63.2 (1995): 193–210.
28 Ángel González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*. Cuarta Edición. (Madrid: Editorial Labor, 1945).Robert I. Burns, *Jews in the Notarial Culture: Latinate Wills in Mediterranean Spain, 1250–1350* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). Ángel González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*. Cuarta edición. (Madrid: Editorial Laboral, 1945), 142. Giorgio Levi della Vida, *Note di storia letteraria Arabo-ispanica* (Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1971).

What trained person, I ask, can be found today among our laity who with a knowledge of Holy Scripture looks into the Latin volumes of any of the doctors? [...] Do not all the Christian youths, handsome in appearance, fluent of tongue, conspicuous in their dress and action, distinguished for the knowledge of Gentile lore, *highly regarded for their ability to speak Arabic*, do they not all eagerly use the volumes of the Chaldeans, read them with the greatest interest, discuss them ardently, and, collecting them with great trouble, make them known with every praise of their tongue, the while they are ignorant of the beauty of the Church and look with disgust upon the Church's rivers of paradise as something vile. Alas! *Christians do not know their own law, and Latins do not use their own tongue*, so that in all the college of Christ *there will hardly be found one man in a thousand who can send correct letters of greeting to a brother. And a manifold crowd without number will be found who give out learnedly long sentences of Chaldean rhetoric.*[29]

In the early period of Al-Andalus, Christians seemed to abandon readily the language that was used in the area before the conquest in favor of the language of the governing authorities. Both Christians and "Jews used Arabic for everyday written communication of every sort-business documents, personal letters, community records- as well as for literary works of an expository nature."[30] The Mozarabs wrote their texts in an Arabic dialect and used this language in their homes, and churches, transcending traditional religious linguistic boundaries. While the shift toward favoring the Arabic language may have been traumatic for Álvaro, it really is a natural shift given that this was also the language of the culture of power. The linguistic shift described by Álvaro is marked, purposeful, selected. While it is true "no conquered population adopts the language of its conquerors overnight," it is also true that language choice impacts economic and social mobility and thus, in Al-Andalus, bilingualism and diglossia was the norm.[31] Álvaro went on to say that "the young Christians of Cordoba were 'intoxicated with Arab eloquence,' and that while they could write grandiloquent Arabic poetry and learnedly discuss rhetoric, 'the Latins pay so little attention to their own language, that in the whole Christian flock there is hardly one man in a thousand who can write a letter to inquire after a friend's health intelligibly.'"[32]

29 María Angeles Gallego, "The Languages of Medieval Iberia and Their Religious Dimension," *Medieval Encounters* 9 (2003): 107–39; here 127.

30 Consuelo Lopez-Morillas, "Language and Identity in Late Spanish Islam," *Hispanic Review* 63.2 (1995): 193–210; here 42.

31 Ibid.

32 Fairchild Ruggles, "Representation and Identity in Medieval Spain: Beatus Manuscripts and the Mudéjar Churches of Teruel," *Languages of Power in Islamic Spain*, ed. Ross Brann. Occasional Publications of the Department of Near Eastern Studies and the Program of Jewish Studies, No 3 (Book 3) (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1997), 397–451.

Even the most emblematic work of the Mozarabs, the *Sistemática Mozárabe,* sometimes also called the *Vicentius Codex*, was produced in an "Arabic-speaking church in the territories newly populated by migrating Mozarabs."[33] Hannah Kassis argues that the "first striking feature of the codex is the degree of Arabization and Islamicization undergone by the Christian community, not only among the laity …. but more particularly among the educated clergy" (415). At the same time, even though there was clearly a preference for Arabic, the documents do reveal some level of Romance borrowings. Kassis continues: "glancing at the manuscript, one cannot but observe the number of Latin words that were incorporated into the Arabic vocabulary of the Mozarabs. Such terms, however, are entirely ecclesiastical and liturgical in nature" (417).

The borrowed words are those that would have been untranslatable; those closely associated with a cultural practice. Likewise, seven of the ten books of the *Sistemática Mozárabe* begin with the phrase *bism allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm,* meaning "by the name of God the merciful and compassionate" (418). This exact phrase also appears at the beginning of the Mozarabic documents of the Cathedral of Toledo as well as of those of the Mudéjares (Muslims living in Christian territories) in Huesca. Thus, this phrase, which today is closely associated with the Muslim religion, seems to have been neutral, belonging to neither the Muslim nor Christian religion in medieval Iberia. Rather, this phrase formed part of the shared cultural construct of each distinct community. It had cultural relevance for the Mozarabs and, just as Latin religious terms could not be replaced by an Arabic version or approximation, neither could the Arabic expression be substituted for a Romance equivalent.

Words that are originally culturally marked become adopted by their interlocutors and take on a new symbolic meaning. Ironically, "[…] we learn from the Latin literature produced by the Christians of al-Andalus that some of the so called 'martyrs of Córdoba' uttered their insults against Islam in vernacular Arabic, although their instruction had been in Latin in most of the cases."[34] (Gallego 130). Even those who professed to object to the Arabization of al-Andalus in this initial period and were opposed to Arabic rules and regulations found themselves adopting the language and the customs of what they most opposed.

In al-Andalus, where Arabic was the language of the governing authorities and was the H language and Romanceandalusí was the local, L, language, we observe that the parameters of language use are not so strict that the languages

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33 Hanna Kassis. "Arabic Speaking Christians in al-Andalus in an Age of Turmoil (Fifth/Eleventh Century until A.H. 478/A.D. 1085)," *Al Qantara* XV (1994): 401–22; here 414.
34 María Angeles Gallego, "The Languages of Medieval Iberia and Their Religious Dimension," *Medieval Encounters* 9 (2003): 107–39; here 132.

are used in completely different environments. There was overlap in language use. For example, the use of Romance was clearly not limited to private or informal contexts but continued to extend to formal environments. Both languages were seen as productive and necessary for successful interactions amongst all of the communities. Romance was not prohibited in official contexts and was also used by the Muslim authorities. Consider the following excerpt from al-Khusani's *Book of the Judges of Córdoba:*

> At the time there was in the city an old man *whose language was Romance* (*aᶜjamī al-lisān)*, called Yenayr. He used to go before the judges to declare, [since] he was well known among the people for his good conduct and orthodox belief. The wazirs sent for him and asked him about this judge. *He answered in Romance:* 'I do not know him, but I have heard people saying that he is a bad man.' He said that ['bad man'] using a diminutive in Romance. When his words reached the emir-May God have Mercy upon him- the emir admired his words and said: 'Nothing but truthfulness would have caused this man to utter such a word.' He then dismissed him as a judge.[35]

Whereas traditional diglossia strictly ascribes languages to one or another context in such terms as H or L, in al-Andalus, we find the languages being used in similar contexts and thus having a parallel rather than a strictly hierarchical relationship. Yet, despite there being ample evidence of bilingualism and the use of both Arabic and Romance in parallel contexts, the history of al-Andalus and medieval Spain is often presented as the history of peoples living side-by-side with little or limited interaction between groups.

An analogous period to that of the first two centuries of Arab conquest of Southern Iberia is that of the conquest of Toledo 1085 C.E. and of Huesca in 1096 C.E. by Northern Iberian Christian kingdoms. In this period of great political and power shift, the Mozarabs and Mudéjares living Toledo and Huesca were learning to live under the rules and guidelines by the new governing authorities. They had to transform and adopt the customs and traditions of their new lords. Before the conquest of these two cities, the Mozarab and the Mudéjar communities, respectively, enjoyed a certain level of prestige. While Simonet argued that the Mozarabs were a symbol of Visigothic and pure 'Spanish' identity, it is clear that the Mozarabs were Arabized. As evidenced in the notarial documents of the Mozarabs and the Mudéjares that have been preserved, both communities continued to produce legally binding contracts in Arabic while at the same time learning and adopting the new Romance koine coming in from the

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35 Julián Ribera, *Historia de los jueces de Córdoba, por Aljoxaní* (Madrid: Imprenta Ibérica, 1914), here 118.

North.[36] Further, while traditional scholarship discussed here has focused on the language performance of either Romanceandalusí or Arabic, rigorous analysis requires that scholars consider all of the data set together and how the parts, such as set phrases, are relevant and contribute to the whole.[37]

The 'erratas,' the glosses, the accompanying illuminations, and standard phrases are all relevant when drawing conclusions about how a text – whether literary or otherwise- reflects the society in which it is being produced.[38] In the notarial documents of the Mozarabs and Mudéjares we see a progression and transformation in language use. Over time, just like in al-Andalus, the language of the documents includes discreet words in Romance or Latin based words, then sections in Latin, and finally, whole documents are produced in Latin/Romance but the signatures continue to be mostly in Arabic script. The unintentional, and even, scripted linguistic performances reflect pluri-cultural and pluri-lingual communities of these cities. Finally, what we come to understand is that medieval multi-lingualism was not unusual and may even have been the norm.

Conclusion

The traditional approach toward the Mozarabs, Arabized-Christians residing in medieval Iberia, has been to emphasize one aspect of their identity or another such as either their Latin heritage or their Arabic traditions. With regards to language, the emphasis has been on insisting that one language, mainly the Romance spoken by the Mozarabs, is intricately associated with their culture. While the use of Arabic is relegated to a secondary role and explained as just the result of necessity or tradition. The argument is that Arabic was used in legal documents even after the Reconquest of territories such as Toledo only for legal expediency. More recently scholars such as Jerry Craddock, Donald Tuten, Gloria Allaire, and Douglass Kibbee, to name a few, explored the interac-

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36 Donald Tuten, "Identity Formation and Accommodation: Sequential and Simultaneous Relations," *Language in Society* 37.02 (2008): 259 – 62; id., *Koineization in Medieval Spanish.* Contributions to the Sociology of Language, 88 (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003); Beale-Rivaya, Yasmine, "The Written Record as Witness: Language Shift from Arabic to Romance in the Documents of the Mozarabs of Toledo in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *La Corónica* 40.2 (2012): 27 – 50.

37 Elinor Ochs, *Developmental Pragmatics* (New York: Academic Press, 1979).

38 Raymond Clemens, and Timothy Graham. *Introduction to Manuscript Studies.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007). Jerry Craddock, *Latin Legacy Versus Substratum Residue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

tions of different languages in the same medieval space.[39] Robert Burns, for example, has extensive work on bilingual treaties. Donald Tuten explores the formation of Romance koinés, a topic that has not thoroughly been explored in terms of the Romance used in Toledo in and around 1085 C.E. Yet, despite so many advances regarding multilingualism in the medieval context, a community defined, if you like, by its hybridity (beginning with their nomenclature of Mozarabic), is often depicted as a passive actor and not an active agent in its undertakings, including their language use.

I submit that there is no evidence to suggest that either Romance or Arabic is more essential to their identity. On the contrary, the sustained use of both languages in legal and personal contexts would suggest that the Mozarabs were multilingual by choice. Further, those language choices reflect an objective economic assessment of the value of each particular language for each distinct transaction. In this way, language selection reflects much more than a linguistic performance of custom, but rather reflects a complex cultural understanding of the power of language to economically privilege and protect a particular community.

39 Donald Tuten, "Identity Formation and Accommodation: Sequential and Simultaneous Relations," *Language in Society* 37.02 (2008): 259 – 62; Gloria Allaire "Literary Evidence for Multilingualism: The Roman de Tristan in Its Italian Incarnations," *Medieval Multilingualism: The Francophone World and Its Neighbours.* ed. Christopher Kleinhenz and Keith Busby. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 20 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010), 145 – 54. David Trotter, "Language Labels, Language Change, and Lexis," *Medieval Multilingualism*, 43 – 62. Douglas A. Kibbee, "Institutions and Multilingualism in the Middle Ages," *Medieval Multilingualism*, 63 – 81.

Richard Ingham and Imogen Marcus
(Birmingham City University)

Vernacular Bilingualism in Professional Spaces, 1200 to 1400

Introduction

The extent of English/French bilingualism in medieval England has been disputed ever since Johann Vising published his monograph on *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature* in 1923.[1] Some, such as Vising himself, as well as Maria-Domenica Legge and Helen Suggett,[2] considered that knowledge of French, in its insular form traditionally known as Anglo-Norman, was quite widespread, whilst others have taken a much more restrictive view, seeing insular French as limited to an elite class and losing ground even there after the twelfth century.[3] One point that is clear is that the situation changed over time. For the first few generations after the Conquest the maintenance of French can hardly be questioned: to support and provide an audience for the flourishing literature of Anglo-Norman and early Plantagenet England, there evidently must have been a substantial Francophone speech community. The eventual demise of insular French is likewise undisputed. The debate is over what happened in between.

The approach taken by Mildred Pope in her study of Anglo-Norman,[4] long regarded as the most authoritative, is that the insular variety of French passed through two phases, a literary period lasting until about 1230, and then one of decline and decay following loss of native-like competence in the language. The problem faced by her analysis is that insular French went on being used

1 Johan Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923).
2 Maria-Domenica Legge, *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters: The Influence of the Orders Upon Anglo-Norman Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1950); Maria-Domenica Legge, "Anglo-Norman as a Spoken Language," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 2 (1980): 108–17. Helen Suggett, "The Use of French in England in the Later Middle Ages," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 28 (1946): 61–83.
3 Rolf Berndt, "The Period of the Final Decline of French in Medieval England (14th and Early 15th Centuries)," *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 20 (1972): 341–69; Serge Lusignan, *Parler vulgairement: Les intellectuels et la langue française aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris: Librairie académique Vrin, 1986).
4 Mildred Pope, *From Latin to Modern French, with Especial Consideration of Anglo-Norman: Phonology and Morphology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1934).

well into the first decades of the fifteenth century,[5] which raises a number of questions: during that second period, were the people using it competent bilingual speakers, contrary to Pope's view, and if so, who were they and how did they acquire their knowledge of French? If, on the other hand, later Anglo-Norman was, as Pope believed, an imperfectly learned second language, what caused the situation to change around 1230, and in what context did that imperfect learning henceforth take place? It is fair to say that no account of these issues has yet acquired the status of a consensus.

   The view propounded by certain older scholars that there were no competent speakers of French left in England after 1250[6] now looks very dated, following the work on Anglo-Norman done in particular by successive editors of the Anglo-Norman dictionary. William Rothwell highlighted the continued vitality of the insular variety, long after that date,[7] and David Trotter argued persuasively that Anglo-Norman was later essentially a non-standard variety, which should not be judged against literary standard Old French and then found inadequate.[8] It remained 'perfectly serviceable' for recording business and matters of state until at least 1400. One of the present authors has found that in some respects its apparently idiosyncratic features were shared by other dialects of Old French such as East Walloon, a native speaker variety,[9] and has shown that supposedly pedagogic texts taken as evidence that French was a language taught in school are in fact nothing of the kind: they attest to the persistence of French as a vehicle language for learning Latin until the mid-fourteenth century.[10] A view cur-

5 William Rothwell, "The 'Faus franceis d'Angleterre': Later Anglo-Norman," *Anglo-Norman Anniversary Essays*, ed. Ian Short. Anglo-Norman Text Society Occasional Publications, 2 (London: Birkbeck College, University of London, 1993), 309–26.

6 Roger Lass, *The Shape of English: Structure and History* (London: Dent, 1987); Sarah Thomason, and Thomas Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

7 William Rothwell, "English and French in England after 1362," *English Studies* 82 (2001): 539–59.

8 David Trotter, "Not as eccentric as it looks: Anglo-French and French French," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 39 (2003): 427–38.

9 Richard Ingham, "L'anglo-normand et la variation syntaxique en français médiéval," *Actes du XXVème Colloque International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romane*, ed. Maria Iliescu, Heidi Siller-Runggaldier, and Paul Danler, Vol 6 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 163–74.

10 Richard Ingham, "The Maintenance of French in Later Medieval England," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 115.4 (2015): 623–45.

rently gaining ground, then,[11] is that later Anglo-Norman continued to be a viable form of medieval French, rather than bad French used by poor learners of a school curriculum subject.

Yet a key aspect of the older view may still seem plausible enough. As Lass and others have claimed, Anglo-Norman was limited to certain highly privileged circles, primarily the royal court and government, the law, and the nobility including the episcopacy, in other words, the topmost heights of the social pyramid. The usual corollary of this assertion is that Anglo-Norman never took root outside this elevated milieu, and that the use of French even here declined from the late thirteenth century on.[12] Yet it is at the very time when French was supposedly losing ground to English that a marked expansion can be seen to have taken place in the text types for which it was used, a paradox noted, e.g., by Susan Crane,[13] who called it "curious." However, this development is really only paradoxical if one makes what David Trotter calls a 'serial monolingualism' assumption: first there were French-only speakers, then they switched to being English-only.

If instead one posits an extended period of bilingualism, it is perfectly plausible that members of the upper classes used one of their languages, French, in written contexts where earlier they would have used Latin, whilst still retaining English for various other purposes. In the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries this is very likely to have been the case. When we consider the textual record, the only direct evidence surviving, the fact is that in the later thirteenth century insular French gained ground at the expense of Latin,[14] previously the language of record and of non-literary genres. In this paper, it will be shown that the large numbers of such texts—*documents de la pratique*, as French historical sociolin-

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11 See the articles in *Languages and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c. 1100 – c. 1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Maryanne Kowaleski, and Linne Mooney (York: York University Press, 2009).

12 Cf. Albert Baugh and Thomas Cable, *A History of the English Language*. 5th edition (1951; London: Routledge, 2002).

13 Susan Crane, "Social Aspects of Bilingualism in the Thirteenth Century," *Thirteenth Century England* 6 (1997): 103 – 16.

14 Monica Green says of medical writing in England: "No other vernacular tradition would seem to match the amount of material available in Anglo-Norman until the 14th century." Monica Green, "Salerno on the Thames: The Genesis of Anglo-Norman Medical Literature," *Languages and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c. 1100 – c. 1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Maryanne Kowaleski, and Linne Mooney (York: York University Press, 2009), 220 – 32; here 220.

guists such as Lusignan called them[15]—allow us to discern a flourishing bilingual culture in the professional circles of later medieval England. The use of Anglo-Norman was not restricted to the top elite levels of society, but extended out to those who owed their positions to their professional knowledge, rather than to a Norman pedigree and a landed inheritance. In this article evidence for that conclusion is surveyed and supported by data from Middle English which show how far the French of ordinary occupational domains could make inroads into English.

It should be noted that for reasons of stylistic variation reference is made to 'French' in the sense of the French of England, i.e., Anglo-Norman, and also to 'Anglo-Norman,' without any distinction being implied between these two terms that is relevant to the issues being discussed here. Although Anglo-Norman, especially in its later career, did in fact exhibit numerous divergences from Central Old French, to be briefly discussed below, they are not germane to the question of language choice pursued in this article. Most of the time, indeed, the French of England was probably the only French its practitioners knew.

Anglo Norman in the Professions

Because Anglo-Norman was for a long time the domain of literary scholarship, it was inevitable that its durability was often seen in terms of how well a literary culture was maintained. The rising prestige of continental literature has often been seen as having depreciated insular French, and even having led to its abandonment. However, the prolonged survival of French in England should, we believe, be viewed less as a matter of upholding a cultural accomplishment, and more as one of maintenance of a language of professional practice, kept up in a range of domains not requiring of their practitioners either a noble family background, or familiarity with courtly poetics.

This is most obvious in the domain of law, where the long series of law Year Books from the late 1260s onwards into the early modern period, reporting cases heard in the King's Bench, testifies to pleading in French, first in Anglo-Norman form, then in its grammatically simplified form known as Law French. A judge such as William Paston, of fairly humble origins rather than from an original

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15 Serge Lusignan,"Le français médiéval: perspectives historiques sur une langue plurielle," *L'introuvable unité du français. Contacts et variations linguistiques en Europe et en Amérique (XIIe–XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. Serge Lusignan, France Martineau, Yves Charles Morin, and Paul Cohen (Laval: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2011), 5 – 107.

Norman family, is one individual whose words have come down to us in French as well as in English:

(1)a. William Paston: Ieo say bien qe, coment qe le tenant aliene pendant le bref, vnquor il respondra come tenant ; mez coment qil vouche, il ne luy liera al garranti …. (*Year Books Henry* VI, 17 [1422])[16]

[I am certain that, although the tenant alienates while the writ is pending, yet he will answer as tenant; but although he vouches, it will not bind him to warranty ….]

(1)b. And that it lyke yow to … graunte your worthy lettres, witnessing the same acceptacion and admyssion of the seyd resignacion, and al your seyd lettres to delyver to my clerk. (William Paston, *Paston Letters*,[17] Vol I, 13 [ca. 1430])

Paston was bilingual because the legal profession through which he owed his social ascension made proficiency in French indispensable. However, we should not think of knowledge of French as being restricted only to lawyers. Thomas Dru, commissioner of the peace in Wiltshire in 1378, requested the Sheriff of Oxfordshire to hold a murder suspect in prison as follows:

(2) Par quei, Sire, voillets garder le dit William tanque vous eyet bref et commaundement de le court de lui mander es Bank le Roy ou altrement devaunt les justices de la deliverauncez el counte de Wilts. Sire si ren voilletz de moy qe faire puisse ceo serrez prest. (*Stonor Letters and Papers* 11 [11 March 1378])

[Therefore, Sir, kindly keep the said W. until you have a letter and instructions from the Court to send him to the King's Bench, or otherwise before the prison release justices in the county of Wiltshire. Sir if you desire anything of me that I can do, it will be accomplished]

Commissioners of the Peace, typically drawn from the local gentry class, were not required to have had legal training. Nevertheless, as in the above example, in the exercise of their duties they routinely dealt with legal matters, and needed to make use of French in order to carry them out. This applied also to their personal affairs. At least in the gentry class, wills were quite commonly being drawn up in Anglo-Norman by the fourteenth century, as illustrated by the following extract from the will of Sir Steven Wallace, dated 1347:

(3) Esteven Walays ordeigne son testament en cest manere …. Item il devise l lyvres pour son enterement. Item il devise a sa compaigne tote sa part de ses juyeux et de vessel d'ar-

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16 *Year Books of Henry VI: 1 Henry VI 1422*, ed. C. H. Williams. Selden Society, 50 (London: Qaritch, 1933).

17 *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Norman Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

gent. Item a Johanne sa soer xl lyvers d'argent si ele ne soit faite nonaigne a ses coustages, et si ele soit au cel hure nonaigne q'el n'eit for qe xls. et la devise de xl livers de nul valu. (*Testamenta Eburaca* 47).

[Steven Wallace draws up his will as follows … . He leaves £50 for his funeral. He leaves his wife her entire part of her jewels and silver plate. To Joan his sister her leaves £40 in silver if she is not made a nun at her cost, and if she is at this time a nun, she is to receive only 40 s and the bequest of £40 is nul and void]

Nor should the language of this document be dismissed as merely formulaic, of the kind a lawyer alone could deal with: the arrangements the testator put in place here were personal and specific, and would surely have had to be fully comprehensible to him in order for his signature to be obtained.

A profession whose members often had a legal training, and were conversant in French, was that of the administrator. Records were kept in French not only by central government officials, but also by municipal administrators such as Daniel Rough, the town clerk of Romney in Kent. Part of his work involved dealing with issues arising with nearby localities, with whom correspondence was written in French, as in this exchange of letters in 1354 after a dispute over fishing nets ("spindlers"). Rough received a letter from the South coast town of Hythe requesting that a citizen of Romney be questioned on the matter:

(4)a. Com le dit W. fust peschant en la myer ove ces spindlers …, cy vynt la tempeste de la mier sur lui, par kai en salvacioun de lui et de sa companye, lessa ces spindlers et se trea al haven de Romene. Et le dit W. le mekerdi prochein suaunt ala al mier pur quere ces ditz spindlers, et avant sa venue vynt un Johan Lucas … et trova ces ditz spindlers et les amena od lui. Puis le dit W. maunda al avant dit J. Lucas davoir ces spindlers deliverez rendant al dit J. pur soun travail ceo qe la lai marine vodra demandier … (*Register of Daniel Rough,* p. 64[18])

[As the said W. was fishing in the sea with these spindler nets … there came upon him a seastorm, so seeking his and his company's safety he left these nets and withdrew to the port of Romney. And the following Wednesday the said W. went out to sea to find the said nets, and before he got there, one John Lucas came and found the said nets and took them with him. Then the said W. told the said J. Lucas to have these nets returned, with payment to the said J. for his work of what the law of the sea should require.]

Rough replied as follows:

(4)b. Nous avoms receu voz amiablz lettres enpriantz qil nous plust amonester et si mestier seroit iustiser notre iustisable J. Lucas de faire livere … de ces spindlers … . Et voilez savoir

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18 *Register of Daniel Rough, Common Clerk of Romney 1353 – 1380*, ed. K. M. Elizabeth Murray (Canterbury: Kent Archaeological Society, 1945).

qe sur ceo nous avoms areyne le susdit Johan et demande coment il seroit de ceo, le quel nous ath done respounce qil trova spindlers sur la myer, mes ki soit le verai possessour de yceux, le dit Johan ne seit mye. (*Register of Daniel Rough*, 62)

[We have received your letter requesting us to kindly warn and if necessary sentence J. Lucas, who is subject to our authority, to make restitution ... of these nets. And may it please you to know that we have questioned the said John and asked how it was over this [matter], who answered us that he found nets on the sea, but who is their rightful owner, the said John does not know.]

The archives of other towns in England contain numerous documents, ordinances and others, showing that the use of French was widespread amongst the administrative profession.

What, though, of other professional domains? Medicine is one in which, thanks to the impressive quantity of medical recipes made available in Tony Hunt's publications, the use of Anglo-Norman is seen to be very extensive indeed, e.g.:

(5)a. Si pernez la racine del glagel, lili, materace marreiz, triblez ensemble, faites emplastre. 'Take the root of iris, lily, reed-mace (?), stir together, make a plaster dressing' (*Med. Prescr.* 4.250)

(5)b. [E]sclarciemenz as oylz: Pernez freses meures e les gardez tant que ele seient purries 'Clearing the eyes: Take fresh plums and keep them until they are rotten ...' (*Med Recs* 215.93)

(5)c. [A] l'emflure del ventre: Triblez rue of vin [...], si la bevez suvent, si desenflerez. 'For a swollen stomach, mix rue with wine, and drink it often, and [it] will go down' (*Med Recs* 216.98)

This is not to say that doctors necessarily spoke French to their patients, but rather that the medical knowledge these text display was compiled in Anglo-Norman (not continental French), so that English doctors needed to have at least recognition knowledge of the language. No English medical recipes are found until the fifteenth century.

The same can be said of architects in medieval England, who worked according to building contracts drawn up in French.[19] The appearance, proportions, materials, and other aspects of the building to be constructed are stated in insular French, e. g.:

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19 Louis Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540: A Documentary History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952).

(6)a. Le dit Johan ad empris de faire bien et suffissantment la maceonerie d'une port et d'une tour paramont en le chastel de Kardoill. (*Salzman, Building* 456)

[The said John has undertaken to carry out good and adequate masonry work on a gate and a tower above it in Carlisle castle]

(6)b. Le dit Johan ad empris affaire pur le dit Thomas dedeinz sa mesoun propre en Adellane cink mansions, c'este assavoir a chescune mansion une shoppe en bas ovesque .ij. estages. (*Salzman, Building* 597)

[The said John has undertaken to make for the said Thomas in his own home in Adellane five buildings, that is to say for each building a shop downstairs with two upper floors]

(6)c. Le dit W. trovera toutes maneres des oeverours et autres costages queux as dites mesons resonablement enbusoigneront, horsprises fermentz, colours, glaces ou aucun autre overeigne de novelle avys. (*Salzman, Building* 459)

[The said W. will find all types of workmen and other costs that will reasonably be necessary for the said houses, apart from ironwork, dyes, glass or any other piece of work in the latest style.]

In large numbers of documents such as this, architects detailed the materials, the construction type, and other aspects of the work they were undertaking to provide. They can hardly have been prepared to do so without fully understanding the language in which the specifications were expressed.

When we turn to estate management, the evidential base within this domain assumes much larger proportions, no doubt because of the overwhelming importance of agriculture at this time. Truly vast amounts of manorial records survive, of various kinds, especially accounts. Although they are mostly in Latin, a certain developing tendency to mix languages means that increasingly this form of document made use of vernacular lexis, both French and English.

Record-keeping was ultimately for the benefit of the landholder, typically a member of the nobility, but also of the church, as represented by an abbot in the case of abbey lands. In the first instance, however, accounts, inventories and other such records would have been drawn up for the attention of an overseer known as a steward, who was employed to have oversight of all the manors possessed by the landholder. Local management of each manor, including hiring of workers and assignment of tasks to be performed, was the responsibility of the bailiff, assisted by a reeve whose job it was to ensure that the work was carried out as instructed.

Behind the surviving documentation can be sensed the presence of an organized structure of managerial responsibilities which, in the dominantly rural landed economy of the period, must have constituted the largest professional sector of medieval England. There are strong indications that to perform these responsibilities a good working knowledge of French was required.

Clear evidence of this is found in the correspondence of the Abbot of Westminster, William of Wenlock, who wrote copious letters of instruction to the bailiffs and reeves of the various manors held by the Abbey in the years around 1300.[20] They are in French, making essentially no use of English lexis, and convey detailed instructions on matters such as arrangements for the sowing season, and provision of locks for barns, as in this letter (abridged) from the abbot to the bailiff of Staines:

> (7) Saluz. Por coe ke nus avom entendu par vostre mandement ke il nus covent semer a nostre maner de Denham lendemain de la seinte Croyz e tantost ensywant en les autres maners, nus wus mandums Richard de Byþtherste nostre vallet ke il seyt attendant a nos granges … e ke wus facez ordiner ij lokes por les granges des queus la une clef remeyne ver lavandit Richard e lautre clef ver nostre provost, e ke wus comandez a provost ke le avauntdit Richard demoerge a sa table deskes a nostre venue ke serra par tens si Deu plest … Adeu. (*Wenlock* 57 [1292])

> [Greetings. Since we have heard from your message that we have to sow on our manor of Denham the day after Holy Cross, and immediately afterwards on the other manors, we send you our employee Richard of Byþtherste so he can attend to our barns … And have two locks ordered for the barns, of which one key should be kept by the said Richard, and the other should go to our overseer, and you are to tell the overseer that the said Richard should stay at his table until we arrive, which will please God be in time.]

The abbot also wrote individually to reeves, as is illustrated in these two brief letters. In the first he requests transport of a carpenter's tools and payment for him:

> (8) Saluz e sa beneson. Nous vous maundoms ke vous facet karier les houtiz Johan noster charpenter e seon compaynoun de Eye jekes a Lalham solom ceo ke il vous dirra issint ke eus seent a nous a Lalham iceo jedy precheyn suivaunt, e ly liveret deus souz por certeynes choses dount il en ad mester … Adeu. (*Wenlock* 59 [1292–1293])

> [Greetings and [our] blessing. We instruct you to have our carpenter John's tools, as well as his assistant, transported from Eye to Lalham, according to what he will tell you, so that they will be with us at Lalham this next Thursday coming, and pay him two shillings for certain things that he needs … Farewell.]

In this next extract he requests the reeve to provide for two men and their horses for the night:

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20 Barbara Harvey, ed., *Documents Illustrating the Rule of Walter of Wenlok* (see note 21).

(9) Saluz. Nus vous comandoms qe vous trovez a deus homes e deus chevals retornanz de Wenlok lor sostenance renable pur une nuit, e alowe vous serra par ceste lettre sur vostre aconte.

[Greetings. We instruct you to find reasonable provision for one night for two men and two horses coming from Wenlock, and this will be allowed on your account by this letter.' (*Wenlock* 78 [1296])]

The use of French at this time for ordinary practical arrangements was certainly not a peculiarity of one particular landholder. Similar letters with instructions in French to manorial officials survive from Canterbury Priory and the bishoprics of Exeter, and Bath and Wells, among others from the same period. Here is an extract from a letter written to a bailliff by John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, in 1330:

(10) Salutz ove la benezoun de Dieu et la nostre. Purceo qe … mesfaisours … nadgers nous firent loutrage et le despit en nostre Parke de Penryn, … vous mandoms et chargeoms qe hastivement veue ceste letre facez charger et comander depar nous a touz les chanoignes de Glasneye, ou lour vicairs ou procuratours, qil facent sanz delai repariler et enclore lour gardyns, et ouster et estoper lour posternes. Et, si nuls de eux puissez trover targeant, contrariant, ou destourbant ceste busoigne, nous certefiez hastivement de lour nouns …. (*The Register of John de Grandisson*, p. 182[21]]

[Greetings with God's blessing and ours. As … evildoers … recently caused the outrage and harm in our Penryn Park, we inform you and instruct you that in sight of this letter you quickly instruct and order the canons of Glasney, or their vicars or proctors, that without delay they have the gardens repaired and enclosed, and the entrances prohibited and stopped. And if you can find any of them delaying, opposing, or interfering with this work, inform us immediately of their names …]

It is sometimes supposed that of the manorial officials the reeve would probably not have been literate and would have needed to keep a record via tallies. While this may have been the case in some localities, the fact is that William of Wenlock wrote to a dozen reeves in the various manors held by his abbey as sole addressees, indicating that they were not only literate but knew French at that time, the turn of the fourteenth century.

Was this linguistic competence limited to written French only? Whilst medieval speech as such is of course irretrievable, some indirect evidence can be gleaned from the written sources available. Accounts from the early fourteenth century onwards commonly show a language-mixing phenomenon that has

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21 *The Register of John de Grandisson,* ed. F. Hingeston-Randolph (London: George Bell, 1894).

been interpreted by Richard Ingham[22] as indicating spoken bilingualism among those contributing to the account statements. Although they are mostly in Latin, their wording quite often features an English term preceded by the French definite article, or a preposition plus article combination such as *del*, e.g.:

(11)a. Et in sarracione plancorum pro le saltehous. (*Durham I*, 540 [1340 – 1[23]])

[And for sawing the planks for the salthouse]

(11)b. lxxiii operibus ad fodum in la winyerd. (*Red Book of Worcester, II*, 515 [1302 – 1303][24])

[73 works for digging in the vineyard]

(11)c. [...] cum 3 cordulis pro les masshefattes. (*Durham II* 558 [1356 – 1357][25])

[With three small ropes for the mash-tubs]

(11)d. In reparacione del sayleyerdes molendini de Heworth. (*Durham, II*, 555 [1354 – 135])

[For repairing the sail timbers of Heworth mill]

What is curious here is why the writer of the document inserted a French definite article at all, since the text was mostly in Latin, except for occasional uses of English terms in question. Switches into English, for technical content words, quite often occurred without a French definite article, e.g.:

(12)a. In xxx cleis empt' pro steyringgs. (*Ely* 47 [1322 – 1323])

[For the purchase of 30 nails for stairings]

(12)b. In petra pro fillyng et sabulo fodiendo. (*Ely* 68 [1334])[26]

[For stone for filling and digging sand]

How, then, to interpret the option taken in (11)a-d of prefacing an English noun with French *le, la, les* or *del?* The answer proposed in our earlier work was that this combination reflected spoken language mixing on the part of the manorial officials when they discussed expenditure on the manor before the details were recorded in the account document, which would have been carried out by an ac-

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22 Richard Ingham, "Mixing Languages on the Manor," *Medium Aevum* 78 (2009): 80 – 97.

23 *Durham Account Rolls, v*ol. I, ed. J. T. Fowler, Surtees Society, vol. 99 (Durham: Andrews, 1898).

24 *The Red Book of Worcester,* ed. Marjory Hollings (Worcester: Worcester Historical Society, 1950).

25 *Durham Account Rolls*, vol. II, ed. J. T. Fowler, Surtees Society, vol. 100 (Durham: Andrews, 1899).

26 *The Sacrist Rolls of Ely*, ed F. R. Chapman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908).

counts clerk. If such discussions took place largely in French, with English terms used where convenient, they would have featured periodic code-switching into English for certain content words within a basically French sentence. For example, with regard to the entry illustrated in (11)c, the purchase of "small ropes" would have been mentioned in spoken French discourse, but using the English noun *masshefattes*. When the accounts came to be written up, they were mostly put into Latin, and all that remained of the prior discussion was an island of code-switching, the English noun preceded by the definite article in the language in which the conversation had mainly been conducted.

In a modern context, switching from one language to another in spoken discourse is common within a bilingual community.[27] So if that was the case in medieval England, to find code switches between the two vernacular languages embedded in the otherwise Latin texts of the accounts documents should not be surprising. Since, as we saw, manorial officials appear to have had some written proficiency in French, to credit them with the spoken competence hardly seems unwarranted. This was an era, it must be remembered, when written language was normally read out loud rather than silently[28] and writing materials were rarely used because of their expense. The opportunity to use one's linguistic skills only in a written medium must therefore have been highly restricted, and the spoken use of French would surely have been far more common.

Now, since reeves, bailiffs, and stewards would normally have been native speakers of English, an obvious question is why they would have communicated in French. To this, there are at least two possible answers. First, given the scale of regional linguistic diversity for which Middle English is notorious, it may often have been a practical solution to ensure comprehension and agreement on business particulars, as long as all parties were proficient in French. This did not vary in pronunciation from one region to another in England, cf. John de Trevisa's well-known 1385 translation of Higden's *Chronicle* (the latter attributed to 1329):

> (13) ... þe langage of Normandie is comlynge of anoþer londe, and hath oon manere soun among alle that speketh hit arigt in Engelond. [29]

> [The language of Normandy is an import from another country, and has a single pronunciation among all that speak it properly in England.]

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27 Shana Poplack "Sometimes I'll Start a Sentence in English y termino en Espagnol: Toward a Typology of Code-Switching," *Linguistics* 18 (1980): 581 – 618.

28 Paul Saenger."Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 13 (1982): 367 – 414.

29 *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*. 9 vols., ed. Churchill Babington and Joseph Lumby (London: Rolls Society, 1865 – 1968).

Given that stewards, to whom the local manorial staff were answerable, journeyed all over the land-holder's domains in various parts of the country, this advantage would not have been negligible. Secondly, we may think of supervision by the lord's officials, especially the steward and bailiff, as a formal setting in which a higher language register—in this case another language—was deemed appropriate. Again, modern parallels are relevant. Commonly, English as a second language is nowadays used worldwide as a professional language of domains such as finance or information technology. The second language offers an impersonal medium in which to conduct affairs that are seen as belonging to a higher plane than everyday discourse. In addition, and not least, it serves to confirm the higher occupational standing of those employing it.

Trade and commerce were also domains where use was made of French, not only for international business, but also for domestic communication. Although documentation seems not to have survived as prolifically as in the manorial domain, some correspondence in ecclesiastical registers survives which suggests that when transactions needed to be effected in writing, French was used in preference to Latin or English, as witness this extract from a letter sent by the Prior of Canterbury in 1318 to a cloth merchant:

> (14) Jeo vous prie qe vous me envoiez, par le portour de ceste lettre, ensamplaires des draps qe vous avez a vendre; cest assavoir, de ij. draps et demi de bele colour pur clercz, pris le drap lxxiij. soudz iiij. Deniers …. Et quant jeo averoi veu lensamplaires de voz draps et le pris, jeo maundrey a vous un homme pur eslire les draps et carier les a Canterbirs. A Dieu, qi vous gard et quantqe a vous apent. (*Lett. Cant.* I, 40 [1318] [30])
>
> [I request you to send me by the bearer of this letter samples of the cloth that have for sale that, is of two and a half cloths of fine color for clerics, price of the cloth 73 s 4d. And when I have seen the samples of your cloth and the price, I shall send you a man to choose the cloth and carry it to Canterbury. Farewell, and may God guard you and all yours.]

Conversely, we have a letter sent ca. 1400 by a draper named John Whately to the Bishop of Norwich, cf. the following extract:

> (15)Tresreverent pere en Dieu et moun treshonuré seignur, jeo me recomans a vostre treshonurable seignurie en tant come je say ou puisse, toutdis vous en merciant de toutes voz gentillesses a moy, vostre povere servant de poy de value, sovent monstrés, … [P]ease assavoire a vostre treshonurable segnurie que vous ay envoié ij baldekyns, l'un bloy et l'altre roge, [etc.] … Les parcelles amontent en tout xiij li. vj d., de laquele

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30 *Literae Cantuarienses*, ed. J. B. Sheppard, 3 vols. (London: HMSO, 1887 – 1889).

somme jeo supplie a vostre treshonurable seignurie que jeo ent soie paié brifment …. (*Letters & Pet*. 371)[31]

[Reverend father in God and my honored lord, I commend myself to your most worshipful lordship as much as I can and may, always thanking you for the generosity you have so often shown towards me, your poor servant of little worth. May it please your worshipful lordship that I have sent you two baudekins, one blue and the other red …. The parcels come to a total of 13 s 6d, which sum I beg your worshipful lordship to pay me soon.]

The use of French in the linen trade was not restricted to episcopal customers, as can be seen from a bill for cloth supplied to Edmund de Stonor in the late fourteenth century.[32] However, the use of French was not just confined to the cloth/linen trade. Maryanne Kowaleski suggests that large numbers of merchants doing business overseas would have had to be able to hold conversations in French, not only to negotiate business deals, but also to arrange travel, lodgings, and food. She also notes that "French had also become a common written language for business dealings by English merchants by the mid-thirteenth century,"[33] But whether it was routinely used by merchants operating within England is another question.

Merchants' internal correspondence is not readily available in published form, but ordinances and other such documents written in Anglo-Norman are sources that give us a good indication of the extent to which French was being used by traders for ordinary practical arrangements, because they are likely to have been written for the traders themselves. Texts of relevance include merchant guild regulations, which, as Rothwell notes, were often drawn up in Anglo-Norman during the 1200 – 1400 period in London, or in one of the towns within about one hundred miles from the capital, such as Andover, Leicester, Southampton and Winchester.[34]

Administrative sources written in Anglo-Norman such as accounts, memorandum books, corporate registers, and registers maintained by men like the fishmonger Daniel Rough, who was directly involved in trade, are also of interest. Among these are the records of the London Goldsmiths' guild, which include

31 *Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions from All Souls MS. 182*, ed. Maria-Dominica Legge. Anglo-Norman Text Society, III (Oxford: Blackwell, 1941).
32 Christine Carpenter, ed., *Kingsford's Stonor Letters and Papers 1290 – 1483* (London: Camden, 1996), 28
33 Maryanne Kowaleski, "The French of England: A Maritime *lingua franca?*," *Languages and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c. 1100 – c. 1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Maryanne Kowaleski, and Linne Mooney (York: York University Press, 2009), 103 – 17; here 107.
34 William Rothwell, "Language and Government in Medieval England," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 93 (1983): 258 – 70.

mid-fourteenth century entries relating to particular individuals associated with the guild, e. g.:

> (16)a. Fait a remembrer qe la ou Richard Arnold avoit mys son fitz a William de Gaytoun pur estre son apprentiz et le dit Richard avoit paié al dit William .v. marcz, auprés avient debat parentre le dit Richard et William par cause qe les faitz d'aprenticialité ne furont faites. (*Goldsmiths,* 158[35])

> [Be it remembered that whereas Richard Arnold had put his son to apprentice with William de Gayton and he had paid the said William five marks, a disagreement then arose between the said Richard and William because the terms of the apprenticeship were not carried out]

> (16)b. Estephene Clerc est obligé a lesditz gardeyns en x marcz d'esterlingz ..., nepurqant lesditz gardeins volunt et grauntont si ledit Estephene deserve a gentz de la dit mester [...] durant le terme de .v. ans qe il ne paie rien. (*Goldsmiths,* 164)

> [Stephen Clark owes the said wardens ten marks sterling ..., nevertheless the said wardens wish and grant that if the said Stephen works for the people of the said guild over a term of five years, he is to pay nothing]

The members of the guild for whom these records were made evidently operated in Anglo-Norman for purposes of administering its affairs.

The York Memorandum Book details the activities of foreign traders, among other things, and contains the following fourteenth-century reference to shoddy goods, or *disloalté:*

> (17) Si ascun servaunt du dit artifice (= pelterers) soit trové ové disloalté a le valu de vj. d.

> [If any member of the said craft-guild (= skinners) is found with shoddy goods worth 6d ... .[36]].

The corporate register of Bristol contains a reference to a group of brokers, spelt *brocours:*

> (18) 'Prestz serroms de porter les waydes qaunt nous serroms garniz par les brocours et layalment ferrom les treys tourns com appent et celes puis en gerner mettroms'.[37] (*Bristol,* ii 7)

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35 *Wardens' Accounts and Court Minute Books of the Goldsmiths' Mistery of London*, ed. Lisa Jefferson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003).

36 *York Memorandum Book. 1300 – 150*0, ed. M. Sellers. Surtees Society, 120 and 125 (Durham: Surtees Society, 1911 and 1914), i, 94.

37 *The Little Red Book of Bristol, 1300 – 1500,* ed. Francis B. Bickley, 2 vols. (Bristol and London: Bristol Record Society, 1900), I 55.

[We shall be ready to carry the waydes (?) when we are supplied by the brokers and will faithfully make the three journeys as incumbent on us and afterwards put them in the granary]

This corporate register also contains references to exporting goods, as can be seen in the following quote, where the verb *amener* (to export) is used [38]:

(19) Qe nul hom face amesner hors de ceste ville nule manere drap.

[That no-one should have any kind of cloth brought outside the town]

The register of Daniel Rough, written in Anglo-Norman, also provides allusions to trading practices and places, such as when he mentions "*en temps de foires ou de marches*" (at the time of fairs or markets).[39] Citations such as this found in Rough's register can be said to exist within a text likely to have been read by merchants and traders.

Further evidence of the importance of French in the occupational domain of trade comes from the many French-origin trade-related words in Middle English texts. A search of the 'Trade' domain of the *Bilingual Thesaurus of Medieval England*, currently under construction at Birmingham City University, produced a yield of seventy-eight Middle English words that were of insular French origin.[40] This domain, as it is conceptualized in the thesaurus, is split into five sub-categories, or semantic roles: agents, processes, materials, pecuniary value and specialized locations. The seventy-eight words were spread across all five different sub-categories. There were eighteen words of Anglo-Norman origin recorded for the processes involved in trade, including *truken* for barter, *purchasen*, meaning to buy, *surchargen*, meaning to make excessive charges, and *marchaundise*, which could be the practice of trading itself.

Thirty-two loan-words from Anglo-Norman for the different kinds of people involved in trade were found. These included the words *achatour* and *wastour* for buyers, *marchaunt,* which could either mean a shopkeeper or a merchant, and also words for the various different kinds of traders and sellers operating in medieval England, such as *pessoner*, a seller of fish and *fruiter*, a seller of fruit and vegetables. The fifteen Anglo-Norman words for the materials used in Trade include several words for different kinds of coins, such as *scute*, *real* and *noble*, the

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38 *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, *1300 – 1500* (see note 40), ii 7.

39 *Register of Daniel Rough, Common Clerk of Romney, 1353 – 1380*, ed. K. M. Elizabeth Murray. Kent Records, 16 (Canterbury: Kent Archaeological Society Records Branch, 1945), 18.

40 Richard Ingham, Louise Sylvester, and Imogen Marcus, *A Bilingual Thesaurus of Medieval England* (Birmingham: Birmingham City University School of English, in preparation).

word *merchaundise* for goods, and various words for specific kinds of goods, such as *haberdashrie*, which became the modern English *haberdashery*. There were eleven items for specialized locations related to trade, such as the recognizable *shoppe*, and three words for aspects of what is referred to in the thesaurus as 'pecuniary value'; *valour*, meaning price, *allouen*, meaning to estimate or value something and *enhauncen*, meaning to raise in price.

These and many other trade-related Middle English words of Anglo Norman origin found in the *Bilingual Thesaurus* must have been understood by the merchants and traders of medieval England, otherwise they would not have entered the everyday language of trade. Thus, although the accounts or other private documents of traders do not usually survive in readily available form, etymological data from Middle English adds to the evidence that the French of England was a practical and probably oral vernacular used by professional traders, as well as individuals working in the other professional domains discussed above.

The point was made earlier that the question of how the insular variety of French differed from continental Old French is not crucial to the issues discussed in this study of language choice. Nevertheless, the quality of the French as illustrated in the examples above demands some comment, especially for a readership with perhaps some knowledge of medieval French but not of its insular variety. It is essential to appreciate that the writers of these documents were not attempting—unsuccessfully—to achieve the standard of literary Old French. Rather, later Anglo-Norman should be considered as a variable and non-standard rendering of speech, as argued for by Legge.[41] This can be seen in a number of features which may give the appearance of careless, disordered spelling and possibly grammar. There is certainly a great deal of variability in graphemic representation, as can can be seen in *-oun-* and *-aun-* spellings, cf. *mesoun* in (6)b and *maunda* in (4)a, by comparison with the continental OFr *-on-* and *-an-* forms in *mesons* (6c) and *mandement* in (7). Likewise *-u-* and *-ou-* spellings commonly alternate, as in *nus* and *nous*.

Much of the time, however, the variable spellings point to variable pronunciation, as with the alternation between the *-om*, and *-oms* forms of the 1st plural inflection, and between the *-ez* (/ets/) and *-et* forms for the 2nd plural inflection (cf. *facez, liveret* in (8) above). In each pair, variably pronounced final *-s* accounts for one variant. Alternation is also seen between earlier *al-* (cf. *altre*) and vocalized *au-* (cf. *autre*). Both final *-s* loss and vocalized *-l-* constituted sound changes taking place in Old French which these Anglo-Norman spellings reflect.

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41 Legge, "Anglo-Norman as a Spoken Language" (see note 2).

In other respects Anglo-Norman phonology went its own way, sometimes under English influence, e. g., as regards the loss of final weak -*e*, a well-known feature of Middle English, as can be seen for example in Chaucer's versification. Erratic spelling forms in Anglo-Norman reflect this development, such as the absence of an -*e* in the final syllable of *nadgers* (for *nagueres*), *vicairs* (for *vicaires*), and *port* (for *porte*), and its presence in that of *assavoire* (for *à savoir*) and *c'este* (for *c'est*). Going along with this instability of final -*e* are apparent gender agreement errors such as *cest manere* and *novelle avys* where the modifier word fails to agree with the gender of the noun.

Since the gender marking here is signaled by the presence or absence of final -*e*, however, they are probably a matter of variable sound-spelling correspondences rather than of grammar. More generally, Anglo-Norman phonology tended to efface contrasts not present in Middle English. For example, the earlier Old French contrasts between the vowel sounds represented in the above extracts by the grapheme <e> in *quere* (ε), *maners* (/ei/) and *meson* (/ai/) coalesced in Anglo-Norman in a single vowel phoneme.[42] The sound contrast between OFr -*e* and -*ie* was also neutralized, as can be seen in spellings such as *charpenter* for *charpentier* (ex. 9) and *demandier (*ex. 5a) for *demander*.[43]

The French used by the professional classes of later medieval England should thus be seen as constituting a self-contained variety, with its own distinctive characteristics, not as inadequate attempts to use a badly learned foreign language. Dismissing the early twentieth-century view that later Anglo-Norman was no more than a poorly mastered jargon,[44] Rothwell very effectively made the point that a variety used to record so much of the public business of medieval England, including the property and financial affairs of its citizens, must be taken seriously as a viable form of language. [45] Its use in the professional milieu that we have sampled in this study must be seen against that context.

Conclusion

We began by contrasting an older view that in medieval England competence in French collapsed after the early thirteenth century, with a more recent assess-

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42 Brian Merrilees, "La simplification du système vocalique de l'anglo-normand," *Revue de linguistique romane* 46 (1982): 319 – 26.

43 This was also a feature of continental Norman.

44 Pope, *From Latin to Modern French* (see note 4)

45 William Rothwell, "Anglo-Norman at the (Green)Grocer's," *French Studies* 52.1 (1998): 1 – 16.

ment of the position that sees proficient use of French (though not in its standard literary form) continuing long after that date. We have attempted to develop this position by showing that the survival of insular French was strongly bound up with professional contexts for its use, not only with its cultivation in courtly circles as a cultural accomplishment.

In the end, insular French was of course replaced for professional purposes by English, even in the law, but it is our view that the conventions of a set of practices (what Pierre Bourdieu has called a *habitus*) encouraged the retention of French well beyond the point when any significant number of monolingual speakers of the language remained in England. It was in professional spaces such as manorial estate management, architecture, and medicine that Anglo-Norman continued to flourish during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as well as being the language of business correspondence used by merchants.

The question that often arises in studies of the history of English, of how large the speech community of French users was, thus probably comes down to estimating the size of the relevant professions in the period, to which the French-speaking nobility must also be added. Such speculation, however, is beyond the scope of the present work. In any case, our contention is that routine use of French in its insular variety extended well beyond the topmost levels of the social pyramid, and included those occupations such as those we have considered above. The various employees of Walter of Westminster were evidently expected to possess a functional competence in French. We should not assume they were exceptional in this regard.

János M. Bak (Central European University, Budapest)

A Kingdom of Many Languages

Linguistic Pluralism in Medieval Hungary

> Nam unius linguae, uniusque moris regnum imbecille et fragile est …
> (*Libellus de institutione morum*, c. 1020 AD).[1]

The sentence above comes from the oldest surviving text from medieval Hungary and is the crucial maxim in chapter VI of a treatise written at the behest of King Stephen and addressed to his son and heir presumptive, Prince Imre. The rest of the chapter of this mirror for princes is devoted to the prince's duty to welcome guests (*hospites*), for they bring with them "diverse teachings and tools" (*documenta et arma*). Both St. Stephen and his successors followed the maxim, and enriched the realm and its elite by inviting and receiving many men and families who spoke foreign tongues. More on this below.

The medieval kingdom of Hungary, comprising the entire Carpathian Basin, was certainly no more an "infirm and weak kingdom of one language" than any Central European state.[2] It seems that widespread multilingualism, or at least the existence of more than one language within a community, has long been a characteristic of the region between the Holy Roman Empire of Germany and the Byzantine-Russian world of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.

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1 "For a kingdom of one language and one custom is infirm and weak," "Libellus de institutione morum,"ed. Josephus. Balogh, in: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadiane gestarum*, ed. Emericus Szentpéteri, vol. 2 (1938; Budapest: Academia Litt., reprint: Budapest: Nap, 2001) [henceforth SRA], 2: 611–28, here 624–25. On it, see Jenő Szücs "The Admonitions of St. Stephen and His State," *New Hungarian Quarterly* 29.112 (1988): 89–97, with English translation of the text, by James Ross Sweeney and János M. Bak, ibid., 98–105; here 103.

2 An excellent overview of the multi-ethnic character of early medieval Hungary is offered by István Kniezsa, "Ungarns Völkerschaften im XI. Jahrhundert," *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* 4 (1938): 241–412, where references to the author's detailed studies on place names can also be found.

A glance at a modern linguistic map of Europe will show that the wide strip between the Elbe and the Don, from the Baltic to the Aegean, is the most linguistically variegated area, including many mutually unrelated language families. Dozens of Slavic languages, interspersed with Germanic and Romance islands, mix with loosely related Uralic (Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian), Turkic and ancient Mediterranean (e.g., Albanian) idioms. While some of this is the relatively recent consequence of Ottoman domination or Habsburg settlement policies, the overall picture was not essentially different in pre-modem centuries. Were one to refine the categories, one might distinguish between larger blocks of near-homogeneous linguistic regions (such as the Polish or Hungarian heartlands), the bilingualism of wide border areas, and the truly linguistically mixed populations in and around towns, trading centers and emporia in the Balkans in particular.

Without going into detail, one aspect worth emphasizing is that the written or literary languages which had a major impact on this area (above all Latin, but also Greek and German) coexisted and mingled with languages far removed from them grammatically and lexically if not—as in the case of Hungarian—entirely different in their basic structure, syntax and grammar. Not being a professional linguist, I cannot explore these differences in any depth, but I believe that they defined to a very large extent the specific character of linguistic pluralism in this region.

The medieval kingdom of Hungary comprised considerable territories, which were and remained non-Magyar speaking but which, due to strong central government, would have been exposed to Hungarian royal administrators, military commanders, and other officials. Apart from Croatia, which became part of the kingdom around 1100 and which also brought several Dalmatian cities under intermittent Hungarian rule, Transylvania, always enjoying a special status, later became truly multi-ethnic and multilingual, as did the Banat (now in Serbia and Romania).

Vestiges of probably reciprocal bilingualism can be found in place and personal names and in the few surviving pieces of vernacular writing preceding the Reformation, which in this region was also the harbinger of the final victory of national languages. The chronology of this major change is by no means homogeneous in the area: thus Hussitism in Bohemia preceded Luther by a century and proved a major force in the rise of Czech—and also of Hungarian—translations and writings in the popular idiom. On the other hand, the tenacity of legal Latin in the kingdom of Hungary—actually down to the early nineteenth century—delayed the effects of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation on the vernacular culture as a whole.

Historians and linguists of the past century have established that medieval Hungarian (Old Magyar) already contained a considerable percentage of loan

words from languages with which the tribes that were to become the Hungarian people came into contact in the first millennium of our era. The basic stock of Finno-Ugric vocabulary, reflecting a hunting and gathering life style with rudiments of agriculture, was augmented by Iranic (Alanic), Turkic (Khazar), Slavic (Bulgaro-Slavic, Slovene, etc.) and, of course, Latin loan words, for objects and institutions of nomadic life in the steppe, settled agriculture, kingship and the Christian faith respectively. To give one example, several plants and animals of the southern steppe have names of Turkic origin, as have matters related to nomadic pastoralism, mounted warfare and certain tribal structures.

Considering that some Magyar words can also be found in the recorded languages of the Slavic and Balkan peoples living next to medieval Hungary, one may assume that many members of both linguistic groups spoke—or at least understood—the language of their neighbors. Thus a relatively long-lasting, albeit receding, bilingualism can be assumed to have existed among the peoples of the Carpathian Basin. In early medieval Hungary the leading strata of the tribes that had only a few generations earlier formed part of elite of the Khazar *pax* of the southern steppe almost certainly spoke both the Turkic tongue of the "empire" and the Turkicized Finno-Ugric Magyar of their subjects. In the mid-tenth century Constantine IX Porphyrogennetos wrote about the Hungarians (whom he calls Tourkoi owing to their earlier participation in the Khazar-Turkic agglomeration of steppe nomads):

> The so-called Kabaroi were of the race of the Khazars ... They settled with the Tourkoi in the land of the Pechenegs, and they made friends with one another. And so they also taught these Tourkoi the tongue of the Khazars, and to this day they have this same language, but they have the other tongue of the Tourkoi as well.[3]

While there are some difficulties in reading this passage, all scholars agree that it indicates the bilingual status of the Hungarians—or at least their elite—in the age of the Princes. Personal names among the ruling clan and other tribal leaders also suggest a gradual transition from Khazar-Turkic to Old Magyar, but the names of the generation preceding St. Stephen (even that of his mother, Sarolt), point to the long survival of Turkic among the rulers.

This has brought us back to St. Stephen and the maxim about the *regnum unius linguae.* Beginning with the reign of his father, Prince Géza, Hungary became host country to many a foreign-born queen, clerk, knight, burgher, and rural settler, all of whom brought their own languages with them. The ecclesias-

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3 *Constantine Porphyrogenitus De Administrando Imperio,* ed. Gyula Moravcsik, trans. Romilly James Heald Jenkins (Budapest: Görög Fil. Int., 1949), 175.

tics added Latin and some Greek. As mentioned above, the immigrants became inevitably more or less bilingual, also inducing those surrounding them to use more than one language.

Proceeding hierarchically, in good medieval fashion, let us begin with the royal court. In fact we know very little about its linguistic conditions, but we may note that of some forty known Hungarian queens between 1000 and 1541 (the end of the independent medieval kingdom of Hungary) only three may have learned Magyar as children (certainly Mary of Anjou who grew up in the Visegrád court of his father Louis I; died in 1395) and of these, two, Elisabeth the Cuman (who died in 1289) and Barbara of Cilly (who died in 1441), probably spoke Cuman (a Turkic language) and German (or possibly even Slovene) as their respective mother tongues. All the others came from German, French, Slavic (Czech, Polish, Serbian), Sicilian, Italian or Greek (Byzantine) dynasties and were often accompanied by several knights and ladies-in-waiting from the same areas. How long and to what extent (e. g., with their personal retinue) did they retain their original language, and what language did they speak with their Hungarian spouses and Hungarian office-holders? We may safely assume that, for at least a number of years after most royal weddings, there was a considerable level of bilingualism at the king's and queen's court.[4]

In 1301 the male line of the native Árpád dynasty died out and from then, with the exception of the Hungarian magnate Matthias Hunyadi-Corvinus, "foreigners" became kings. Owing to the typical lack of interest in personal characteristics on the part of medieval authors we know very little about when and how those kings who were born abroad and came to Hungary as adults learned the language of the country. Nor do we know anything about the business transactions between Magyar counselors and Sicilian, German-Czech, Austrian or Polish-Czech kings. Tradition records only that Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437) and Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) spoke several languages.

This may be the appropriate point to mention the rather early mixing of Latin and vernacular in the legal and administrative spheres, also known as "chancellery bilingualism," documented in what we may call "hidden translations."[5] For example, the designation *comes*, borrowed from German chancellery usage for

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4 See Reinhard Schneider, *Vom Dolmetschen im Mittelalter: Sprachliche Vermittlung in weltlichen und kirchlichen Zusammenhängen*. Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 71 (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2012), 51–77. He observes very similar conditions at royal courts in western Europe.

5 Since the written records in the medieval kingdom (and until much later) were in Latin, penned by domestic and foreign clerks and notaries, they had to coin Latin terms for the "vernacular" reality. This procedure I call "hidden translation."

Graf, was applied to the king's officers heading the royal districts and castles ever since St. Stephen's times. The name of these officers in the vernacular was (as later documents prove) *ispán*, derived from the South Slav word *župan*, which in that language meant a somewhat different kind of local leader. From the context it is clear that not all those called *comites* were royal officials: the clerks used the term for the freemen of higher standing, whose "real", i.e., vernacular, name is not known. Instructions issued to the office-holding *comites*, written in Latin, were obviously translated for them by their clerks, who rendered them as the duties of the *ispán*.[6] There is a similar problem at the bottom of the social scale. The term *servus* of the Latin sources may have been the translation of slave, serf, or some other type of dependent/servile person; its vernacular original may have been *szolga* (a Slavic loan).[7]

Both major chronicles of Hungary, the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Simon of Kéza[8] and the so-called fourteenth-century compilation (containing material from as far back as the eleventh century)[9] list a great number of noble kindreds (clans) that came to the kingdom and rose to high standing.[10] Both they and the relevant charters contain information on the background of these *advenae*, stating that they came to the king, told about their past and were accepted in the *familia* of the ruler. A charter of King Géza II of 1156 offers a rare insight into the process:

> Quocirca ego Geyssa secundus rex [...] quibusdam hospitibus meis, videlicet Gothfrith et
> Alberth militibus strenuis, qui ad vocacionem meam relicta patria sua et hereditate regnum
> Hungariam sunt honorifice ingressi, et quia dignum fuit tam nobilibus regia libertate sub-

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6 For the early medieval laws with this word, see *The Laws of Hungary: Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae 1000–1301*, ed. György Bónis †, János M. Bak, and James Ross Sweeney, 2nd ed. [Henceforth DRMH 1] (Idyyllwild: Schlacks, 1999) passim (soon to be available online).

7 For this problem, see now Cameron Sutt, *Slavery in Árpád-Era Hungary in a Comparative Context*. East-Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, 31 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005). In DRMH 1 we translated it as "bondmen/women" in order to avoid coming down for any one of the possible meanings.

8 Simon of Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum. The Deeds of the Hungarians*, ed. and trans. László Veszprémy and Frank Shaer. Central European Medieval Texts, 1 (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 1999) [henceforth CEMT], 159–73.

9 *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, ed. Alexander Domanovszky, in SRA (see note 1) 1:240–505. Partial English translation in *Chronicle of the Hungarians*, trans. Frank Mantello (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991). A new edition and translation in CEMT (see note 8) is forthcoming.

10 For more on this, see Erik Fügedi† and János M. Bak, "Foreign Knights and Clerks in Early Medieval Hungary," *Expansion of Central Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. Nora Berend. The Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000–1500, 5 (Farnham: Ashgate Variorum, 2012), 319–32

venire, idcirco in parochia Crocoyensy terram duarum villarum et silvam regalem que Saar vocatur cum quattuor custodibus eieus concessi [...] tali tamen tenore ut nullus regum succedentium seu comitum hoc regale donum ab eis conetur accipere sed filiis suis et posteritati euorum reliquere.[11]

[Hence, I King Géza II have granted to my guests, the valiant knights Gottfried and Albert, who, upon my invitation have abandoned their homeland and heredity [actually, they may not have had much of a "heredity", otherwise they would not have left their homeland—JMB]and came honourably to the kingdom of Hungary—for it was suitable to assist such noblemen with royal liberality—two pieces of land in the parish of Karakó sufficient for two villages and the royal forest called Sár with its four guards [...] with the stipulation that no future king or *ispán* dare take away these royal grants, but they should descend to their sons and descendants].

Other similar charters include longer passages about the background of the newcomers. Usually pointing out the reason for the knights having risked a new start in the far-away country.

The chronicle adds, perhaps wishing to underline that in Hungary the newcomers were not only from the neighboring Germany, as in Poland and Bohemia:

Preterea intraverunt in Ungariam tam tempore regis Geyche et sancti regis Stephani quam diebus regum aliorum Bohemi, Poloni, Greci, Ispani, Hismahelite seu Saraceni, Bessi, Armeni, Saxones, Turingi, Misnenses et Renenses, Cumani, Latini, qui diutius in regno conmorando, quamvis illorum generatio nesciatur, per matrimoniorum diversorum contractus Ungaris inmixti nobilitatem pariter et descensum sunt adepti.[12]

[Moreover, in the reigns of King Géza and the holy King Stephen as well as other kings, Czechs, Poles, Greeeks, Spaniards, Ishmaelites or Saracens, Petchenegs, Armenians, Saxons, Thuringians, Meissenians, Rhinelanders, Cumans, and Latins came to the country—whose kindreds, although they stayed in the kingdom, are not known—and through various marriages mixed with the Hungarian and obtained both nobility and possessions.]

Characteristically for the "color-blindness" of medieval authors, there is no reference to the way these interactions between the knight and the king took place. Surely, neither Gottfied and Albert nor the many others knew Magyar—and the king was hardly fluent in German and the other tongues. Initially, one may assume, the newcomers had some Latin-speaking (clerical?) person in their entourage, who communicated with the similarly Latinist clerks of the Hungarian court.

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11 *Urkundenbuch des Burgenlandes und angrenzender Gebiete*, ed. Hans Wagner (Graz, Vienna, and Cologne: Böhlaus Nachf, 1965), 1: 21–22.

12 SRA (see note 1) 1: 304. Master Simon, whose closing remarks are shorter, added that he 'decided not to overburden the present book with a full inclusion of their names' (Simon of Kéza, *Gesta* [see note 8], 175).

But that they and their companions (some of them are recorded to have arrived with a number of horsemen) represented a group of men who, at least for a while or even a few generations, spoke a different language from the of the majority of the country's inhabitant—probably becoming more or less bi-lingual in due course.

Newcomers rose to high office and leading social positions as the kings' favorites under the "foreign" Anjou, Luxembourg, Habsburg, and Jagiellonian dynasties in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as well, but there is little evidence about their linguistic abilities and the ways of communication with their Hungarian fellows and subjects. The biographer of Pipo Scolari, treasurer and general of the King and Emperor Sigismund, noted that "in addition to Florentine [his native language] and Hungarian, he knew German, Polish, Czech (which is called Slavic) and Valachian—which are barbarian tongues—so well that he could speak each of them as though it were his own."[13] The Polish-born councilor of Sigismund, Stibor, seems to have had a Czech notary at his court for in 1432 he issued the oldest known Czech charter in Hungary.[14]

Cultural and linguistic assimilation was by no means uniform and may have had a great deal to do with marriages—about which we know too little. In one clan, the Hahót, Hungarian given names appeared already in the third generation, suggesting the decline of German culture in that aristocratic family, while in another, the Héder clan, German names prevailed for at least five generations. The count of Szentgyörgy, of the Héder clan, whose ancestors came to Hungary in the mid-twelfth century, is referred to in a charter from about 1320 as *dictus Graf de Basin*, suggesting a German self-denomination some 200 years after their immigration.

However, we know of cases that suggest the opposite. In 1517 the noble lady Anna Majthényi, in her fatal illness, called for the parish priest to hear her confession and last will as well as administer the last sacrament. But neither the priest nor his curate knew enough Magyar to do so and therefore asked a travelling Hungarian cleric, who happened to be staying in the parish at the time, to go to the manor house. Apparently Anna Majthényi, living in the midst of a Slav speaking population, did not know enough Slovak to speak to her local priest, but all the clergy knew enough Latin to arrange the preservation of the lady's words. (We know—fortunately—about this rare reference to multilingualism

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13 Domenico Mallini, *Vita di Filippo Scolari volgarmente chaimato Pippo Spano*, Florence 1570. I am quoting from the Hungarian translation in *Ozorai Pipo emlékezete* [In memory of Pipo of Ozora], ed. Ferenc Vadas (Szekszárd: Múzeumi Füzetek, 1987), 51.

14 See *Középkori cseh oklevelek – Stredoveké ceské listinyi* , ed. István Kniezsa (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1952) with French résumé, 181–86.

only because the lady's oral last will and testament was later challenged in court, and the witnesses reported the details of the story, offering a rare insight into everyday communication problems at the time. It is worth noting that the problem of multilingual transmission of the challenged will did not feature in the court proceedings!)[15]

With this example we have reached the "middle class" of medieval Hungary, i.e., the wide stratum of lesser nobles down to the semi-rural "sandalled nobles," who were the bearers of a specific bilingualism, or rather macaronism, originating in the dualism between vernacular reality and Latin legal procedure. Despite our example, there was certainly extensive bilingualism in territories with non-Hungarian populations, where the lesser nobles seem to have changed to the local vernacular (particularly in the Slovak regions). An interesting case is the noble family originally called Vendég ('guest'), who were granted land in the Carpathian Mountain region, east of the border-county of Turóc. The local Slavic speakers referred to them as *zaturetski*—'those beyond Turóc.' The Hungarian and Slovak descendants of the family use the name Zathurecky to our very days.

The development of a specific "third culture" in addition to learned—clerical —Latin and the popular-folkloric—vernacular civilizations, as Jacques Le Goff has called them, originated in the widespread practical legal—and hence Latin —education of many thousands of lesser noblemen. Some of these became experts, working on a permanent basis on issues ranging from quarrels within the local community to cases brought before the high courts of the realm, while others served only temporarily in local offices: both types, however, were frequently involved in interminable law suits due to the specific inheritance rules of medieval Hungarian land ownership. Every one of the fourscore counties had a nobleman (often elected) as *vicomes*, four noble magistrates; moreover, nobles were frequently required—accompanied by a clerical scribe or witness— to introduce new owners o land, to inquire into issues of violent crimes, always taking a role in recording the final outcome in Latin. As a result of this involvement in legal and administrative life, a considerable segment of the nobles— who, in turn, represented a sizeable part of the population, maybe some 4–5 per cent—participated in the world of Latin technical language.[16]

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15 See Erik Fügedi, "Majthényi Mártonné szóbeli végrendelete 1517–ből" [The verbal testament of Mrs M. M. from 1517], *Magyar Nyelv* 55 (1957): 423–27; here 425–26.

16 More on this is in János M. Bak "Mittelalterlicher Hintergrund der Latinität des ungarischen Adels," *Sprache und Volk im 18. Jh.: Symposium in Reinhausen bei Göttingen, 3.–6. Juli 1979*, ed. Hans-Hermann Bartens. Opuscula Fenno-Ugrica Goettingiensia, 1 (Frankfurt a. M., Bern, et al.: Peter Lang, 1983), 28–39.

One reason for the widespread knowledge of at least some Latin was that in medieval Hungary the issuing of charters under a nobleman's own seal never became general practice and the classical office of notary was never adopted. The recording of "private" business remained in the hands of ecclesiastical bodies, chapters and convents, which served as places of authentication and which were not secularized and vernacularized until much later. Therefore virtually everyone who had any kind of legal business to transact was obliged to understand some Latin in order to check whether a document accurately reflected his or her intention.

Our records suggest that in the diets, where delegates of the counties and sometimes a much larger number of noblemen assembled, some speakers addressed meetings in Latin. All the resolutions, submissions to the king and final *decreta* were, of course, written in Latin and a fair amount of all this must have been understood by many. In 1446 the delegates of the city of Pozsony/Pressburg (now Bratislava in Slovakia) reported in German to the council on their negotiations with other cities, then added a Latin decree of the estates about the election of John Hunyadi, but closed with these words: "Der Ander ist ungrisch den chan Ich euer weishait nit zuschreiben" [The other one is in Hungarian, that I cannot send Your Wisdom].[17] Thus, major decrees were formulated in Latin, but additional debates were conducted in the vernacular. And, apparently, the Pressburg delegates did not understand Magyar.

This brings us to the cities, where the linguistic situation was much more unequivocal. Urban centers in Hungary were mostly populated by "guests" (*hospites*) of Italian and French origin, called *Latini*, and of Germans, often called *Saxones*. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Hungarian, Croat and Slovak peasants and craftsmen also moved to the cities. In the urban documents we have no difficulty in finding evidence of the coexistence—albeit not always peaceful—of different ethnic-linguistic groups. From the fourteenth century onwards several towns solved the "ethnic" problem, which also reflected conflicts between the lesser guilds and patricians, by deciding that the mayoralty should be held alternately by a German and a Hungarian (or sometimes a Hungarian and a Slovak) councilor. Whoever was mayor, the council deliberated in a language, or in languages, understood by all. In most cases this was probably German, since the laws (sometimes borrowed in particular from more highly developed German city statutes) were written in German, and many technical terms, institutional expressions etc. were more readily available in that language.

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17 See József Teleki, *A Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon* [The Age of the Hunyadi in Hungary] (Pest: Emich, 1853), vol. 10, 185.

It is among townspeople that we find that the same person is known by different names, according to the linguistic surroundings. So, for example in the guild-book of the butchers of Buda a member is called Hans Krenn, but in the tithe-list of the city he features as Torma János, both family names meaning 'horseradish.'[18] Obviously, a person giving his name in two different languages was able to understand and most likely to speak both.

However, written records can be treacherous. A passage in a sixteenth century by-law of a Transylvanian village, recorded in German by the Saxon scribe, states that the community consists of two ethnic-linguistic groups: "in der Gemein Szakadat zweierlei Nationen, nemlich Ungarische und Vlachische" [... in the community of Szakadat are two nations, namely Hungarians and Romanians] not mentioning the obviously also present Germans (Saxons).[19] In fact the village officers, according to the (German-language!) records of a border dispute dated 1594, were a Hungarian mayor, two other Hungarians, and two Romanians. What may have been their language of communication—well understood by the German notary? The study of urban and small town records can yield a great deal of insight into cultural and linguistic coexistence as well as conflict.

As usual, we know least about conditions, including the problem of communications, among the largest segment of the population, the peasants and other commoners. Some studies of personal and place names indicate that among them also many were bilingual. Hungarian, Slavic (i. e., proto-Slovak and Croat) and, later, Romanian speakers lived sometimes in clearly defined communities of their own, but, as in the Transylvanian case above, frequently coexisting in one village. Other studies, notably of parallel Magyar and Slav place names, would seem to contradict this: in many cases in which two different communities use two different names for a village or a field, one name is either a translation or an adaptation (according to phonological principles) of the other, or the two names have entirely different origins. (This feature can be still noticed in the place-names in today's "successor states" of historic Hungary.) Parallel name-giving illustrates at least that even rural people, while using their own language, more or less understood their neighbors who spoke another language. Since the languages in question were linguistically very far re-

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18 See *A budai mészárosok középkori céhkönyve és kiváltságlevelei. Das mittelalterliche Zunftbuch und die Privilegien der Ofner Fleischer*, ed. István Kenyeres. Források Budapest közp- és kora újkori történetéhez, 1 (Budapest: Nemzeti Kulturális Alap, 2008).

19 Quoted from Pál Binder, *Közös múltunk: Románok, magyarok, németek és délszlávok együttélése városban és falun a feudalizmus idején* [Our Common Fast: On the Rural and Urban Coexistence of Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and South Slavs under Feudalism] (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1982), 58.

moved from each other, the differences here were greater than in the oft-studied Romance-Germanic border regions and can best be compared to Celtic and other contact zones.

As elsewhere, receding bilingualism was also extensive at the level of commoners who had assimilated ethnic-linguistic groups which vanished in the course of the Middle Ages. To name only a few examples, the Arab traveler Abu Hamid al-Gamati around 1140 met Muslims in Hungary, with whom he could speak, but who needed further instruction in Arabic, because, as a result of the assimiliationist and missionary policies of Hungarian rulers, they were about to lose their traditional language. Pechenegs, who lived—and must have spoken their Turkic language—in Hungary since the eleventh century, lost it by the beginning of the modern era, as did the sizeable tribal populations of Cumans and Jász (Alans), who found refuge in thirteenth-century Hungary and of whose language only a few fragmentary glossaries survive.[20]

In addition to the hierarchical social differences in the use and knowledge of more than one language, there were, of course, several other categories that defined or influenced a person's bi- or multilingualism. For example, men and women were exposed to different "second languages." Warrior knights on Crusade may have learned some French or Anglo- Norman, while their noble ladies perhaps read or listened to some Provencal or Middle High German romances at home. The *lingua franca* of the marketplace well-known to peasant women selling their chicken and eggs may not have been the same as the "neighbor's language" in the village known to husbandmen settling disputes over fields and hedges. The composition of vernacular edifying literature for and by nuns is well known (and constitutes the earliest pieces of Magyar vernacular literature), while they, too, knew some Latin for the liturgy: monks were probably expected to be more fluent in the latter.

Moreover, a thorough study of these issues would have to refine the definition of the terms knowledge and use of "another tongue." Surely, the differences that exist today between a taxi driver's, a hotel receptionist's, an elegant maître d'hotel's, or an academic person's command of the language(s) of expected tourists or visiting colleagues had their medieval parallels. The mutual borrowing of

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20 On the Cumans and Pechenegs, see Hansgerd Göckenjan, *Grenzwächter und Hilfsvölker im mittelalterlichen Ungarn.* Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa. 5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972), and Nora Berend. *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000 – c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). On the Muslims, see also Ivan Hrbek, "Ein arabischer Bericht über Ungarn (Abū Ḥāmid al-andalusī al-Ġarnāṭī, 1080—1170)," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5 (1955): 203 – 30.

a few crucial expressions or names of tools, products or institutions may have occurred in the context of very limited linguistic exchange, but syntactical influence and reception of other more semi-learned Latinity of the Hungarian legal-administrative strata may have included several degrees of cultural and linguistic quality. Although there will hardly ever be sufficient source material to enter into these aspects in detail it is worth noting them as open questions.

K. A. Tuley (University of Minnesota, Minneapolis)
Multilingualism and Power in the Latin East

In the wake of the armed pilgrimages now collectively known as the "First Crusade," the Latin Christians who remained in the Holy Land found themselves surrounded by foreign languages—dialects of Romance from all over Europe; Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, and Armenian. Survival, let alone rulership, in a region which had been characterized by multilingualism for centuries, required command of multiple languages, either by the Latins themselves or by integrating polyglot locals into their social networks. As western-born Christians settled into their new identities as Latins of the East, multilingualism settled into Latin Eastern culture

Three kinds of evidence for this multilingualism remain, the two most prevalent being anecdotes from chronicles, histories, and travel accounts written both in Latin and Arabic, as well as a few from Hebrew and Greek, and documents, mostly those referring to translators holding official office. In both of these, discussion of polyglots is predominantly referential, with historians mentioning a translator's role in peace negotiations, and legal contracts on the rights of the feudal dragoman, this last being most thoroughly studied by Jonathan Riley-Smith.[1] The anecdotal evidence is the more prevalent, but rarely provides much detail about the polyglots themselves, frequently omitting their names, let alone discussion of how they acquired their multiple languages, or how they fit into Latin Eastern society.

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[1] Such negotiations are mentioned by Saladin's secretaries ʿImād ad-Dīn al-Isfahānī, al-Fath al-qussi fi l-fath al-qudsi ["Ciceronian Eloquence on the Conquest of the Holy City"], trans. Francesco Gabrieli, *Storici Arabi Delle Crociate* [Arab Historians of the Crusades], Italian, trans. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989). Bahāʾ al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sulṭaniyya waʾl-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya* [The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin], trans. D. S. Richards. Crusade Texts in Translation. 7. (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2001); and as well as in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* [Itinerary of the Pilgrimage and Deeds of King Richard] (IP), trans. Helen J. Nicholson as *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the* Itinerarium Peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi. Crusade Texts in Translation, 3 (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1997). Jonathan Riley-Smith's *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277*. (London: Shoe String Press, 1973) and "Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria," *The English Historical Review* 87.342 (1972): 1–26, are the most focused on the roles of *dragoman and tarjuman*.

In addition to scraps of evidence cobbled together from off-hand mentions in charters and histories, there exist a handful of documents that are themselves multilingual. The most valuable of these is an Old French-Arabic phrasebook, dated to thirteenth-century Acre by its editor, historical linguist Cyril Aslanov.[2] Emilie Savage-Smith has introduced an Arabic-language medical text with Latin annotations, demonstrating a more thorough, as well as technical, command of both languages.[3]

The narrative sources provide the strongest basis for understanding the formulation of the Latin East as a multilingual milieu, and so it is with their anecdotal evidence I begin.

Narrative Evidence

1 The First Crusade (1097–1099)

The eastern Mediterranean encountered by the participants of the First Crusade, mostly northern Europeans, in 1097 was a richly multilingual milieu. The Byzantine Empire, threatened by the recent Saljūk invasions but still dominating large swathes of territory, was well-equipped with multilinguals, omnipresent in their interactions with the Crusader allies. These included professional, bureaucratic interpreters, or polyglot mercenaries and former captives, such as Marianus, the Duke of the Fleet's son, noted for speaking to the Provencals "in their language." After the First Crusade, "the Neapolitan Marianus," known to have experience of Latin ways, was also sent as an ambassador to Bohemond of Taranto, leading the Italo-Norman host, along with Adralestus, again specifically noted as speaking the Frankish language.[4]

Inside the imperial circle itself, multiple Latin-Greek interpreters appear to have been available, as Anna Komnene, who wrote her *Alexiad* in honor of her father Emperor Alexios, mentions his asking "one of the interpreters of the Latin tongue" to translate a specific Frank's comments during a large

2 Cyril Aslanov, *Evidence of Francophony in Mediaeval Levant: Decipherment and Interpretation (MS. Paris BNF copte 43)* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2006).
3 Emilie Savage-Smith, "New Evidence for the Frankish Study of Arabic Medical Texts in the Crusader Period," *Crusades* 5, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith, and Jonathan Philips (Farnham, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 99–112.
4 Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, trans. Elizabeth A. S. Dawes (London: Routledge, 2003), X.V, 250; X.VIII, 255; XIII.IX.

meeting.[5] From entering Byzantine territory in the Balkans and through crossing the Bosphorus into Anatolia itself, the Empire's stable of Romance-Greek-Turkish interpreters and polyglots facilitated relations between the Crusader hosts and the Byzantines, as well as local powers.

Polyglots accompanied the army that marched with the Crusade host into enemy territory as well; Tatikios, sent by Alexios to lead the Byzantine troops and protect his interests on the march, was himself the son of a Turk captured by Alexios's father.[6] After the siege of Nicaea, the first city taken from the Saljūqs by the combined Byzantine-Western force, officers Monastras, a Turkish speaking "semi-Barbarian," and Rhodomerus, "who had once been captured by the Turks and dwelt some time among them," were placed in charge of directing Turkish soldiers as they surrendered to the imperial forces.[7] Anna does not mention these men again, suggesting that they were of no interest outside their language skills, which appear to have been rare enough to make them interesting in passing as an explanation for their being chosen for the duty, but hardly unique enough for fascination. Indeed, by explaining how each had acquired his multiple languages, Anna lists two different kinds of polyglots in the imperial forces: Those who spoke 'barbarian' languages from birth and learned Greek as part of their formal education or service with the Empire, and Byzantine Greek speakers who learned their foreign captors' languages during captivity.

The Crusaders brought their own interpreters on the expedition as well. *The Historia Peregrinorum Euntium Jerusolomam*, written by an anonymous monk in Monte Cassino soon after 1130 and cited by Ralph Bailey Yewdale, also well-informed on the doings of the Italo-Norman host, mentions Bohemond of Taranto's cousins Tancred and Richard of the Principate as Arabic speakers, as I shall discuss in more detail.[8] These three cousins would have been of the first generation of Normans born in the polyglot environment of southern Italy and Sicily, with Bohemond, the leader of their contingent, a veteran of multiple campaigns

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5 Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* (see note 4), X.X, 264. See also Glen M. Cooper, "Byzantium Between East and West: Competing Hellenisms in the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene and her Contemporaries," *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 14. (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 263–90.

6 Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2012), 46, referencing the Alexiad.

7 Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* (see note 4), XI.II, 274.

8 Anonymous, *Historia Peregrinorum Euntium Jerusolmam Ad Liberandum Sanctum Sepulcrum de Potestate Ethnicorum* [History of the Pilgrims Who Went to Jerusalem to Liberate the Holy Sepulchre from the Power of the Heathen], *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, vol. III (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1866), LXVII, 198.

against the Byzantines. Yewdale suggests others in their entourage would have spoken Arabic and Greek as well, and Hussein M. Attiya refers to interpreters in the host who may have been Normans from Sicily, where Arab-Greek multilingualism had been quite common for several centuries.[9] Beginning with the Norman arrival in Southern Italy, local Muslims had fought with the conquerors, but later many were in Roger I of Sicily's army and government at the time of the First Crusade, providing a potential pool of polyglots for the Italo-Normans.[10]

Nicaea's surrender was handled primarily by Boutoumites, another of Alexios's generals; true interaction between locals and Franks did not occur until the siege of Antioch, beginning in late 1097.[11] Formerly a major Byzantine city, Antioch had been taken by the Saljūqs in 1084, and its formidable walls presented a major strategic challenge to the crusading hosts. Its brutal siege lasted eight months, characterized by famine and disease among the Crusaders, desertion, and sorties with the Antiochenes and supporting Muslim forces. Here the Italo-Normans took the lead, with Bohemond establishing a relationship with one of the city's tower commanders, who "discreetly made a plot with our men by which they should obtain the city," "persuaded" by Bohemond.[12] The identity of this individual is a subject of debate: Ibn al-Qalānisī, a contemporary Damascene chronicler, refers to him as an Armenian armorer named Nairūz; Ralph of Caen, who had arrived in Antioch after the First Crusade to document the exploits of Tancred, does not mention his name but also calls him Armenian; Fulcher of Chartres, who accompanied Baldwin of Bouillon as chaplain, and Bohemond himself, call him a Turk.[13] Rebecca L. Slitt comments that it is predom-

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9 Ralph Bailey Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1917), 38; Hussein M. Attiya, "Knowledge of Arabic in the Crusader States in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Journal of Medieval History* 25.3 (1999): 203–13; here 206; Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily.* The Medieval Mediterranean, 3 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1993), 37.
10 Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam.* Culture and Civilization in the Middle East (London: Routledge, 2003), 60.
11 Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol.1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 180.
12 Fulcher of Chartres, *Gesta Francorum Jerusalem Expugnantium* [A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem] (hereafter referred to as FC), trans. Frances Rita Ryan, ed. Harold S. Fink (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), I.XVII.4–5, 98–99; Bohemond, Count of St Gilles, Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, Robert, Duke of Normandy, Robert, Count of Flanders, Eustace, Count of Boulogne," Letter to Pope Urban II" in *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th–13th Centuries*, trans. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate. Crusade Texts in Translation, 18 (Farnham, Surrey, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate 2010), 31.
13 Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Mudhayyal Tārīkh Dimashq* [Continuation of the History of Damascus], trans. H. A. R. Gibb (London: Luzac, 1932), 45; FC (see note 9), I.XVII.4–5, 98–99; Ralph of Caen,

inantly the Christian, not Muslim, authors who depict Firuz, Bohemond's collaborator, usually referred to as Firuz by the Latins, as a Christian or as having converted to Christianity, and argues that this is probably an attempt to emphasize the similarities between him and Bohemond, making their friendship more palatable to Christian readers, as well as express Christian power. Muslim writers, however, emphasize Firuz's status as a traitor to the faith.[14] It is noteworthy that Ralph of Caen, the Latin author who described Firuz as Armenian, was writing in Tancred's Antioch, where relationships with Armenians were more common than in the southern Latin polities.[15]

In contrast, the clearest and most detailed narrative of the incident comes from the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, usually considered to have been written by an Italo-Norman in Bohemond's contingent, which depicts Firuz as a Turk who converts to Christianity because of his relationship with Bohemond.[16] Joshua C. Birk argues the *Gesta* author's experiences in Norman Sicily or the Southern Italian peninsula, where Christian-Muslim alliances and Muslim leaders' conversion was common, made him more comfortable with similar situations in the Levant, while his fellow Latin authors rejected such a "religiously fluid world."[17]

The historical context of other intermediaries encountered during the First Crusade does not provide any conclusive evidence for the question of Firuz's ethnic identity, either—Muslims, converts, Armenian and Syrian Christians all came into contact with the Crusaders, as I discuss below. Whether Firuz was an armourer or *amīr*, Armenian or Turkish, remains unclear.

Gesta Tancredi [The Deeds of Tancred], trans. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach as *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*. Crusade Texts in Translation, 12 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), Ch. 63, 88; VIII.xx, 44; Bohemond, *Letter to Pope Urban II* (see note 9), 31.

14 Rebecca L. Slitt, "Justifying Cross-Cultural Friendship: Bohemond, Firuz, and the Fall of Antioch," *Viator*, 382 (2007) 339–49; here, 344. Slitt does not cite ibn al-Qalānisī, a Muslim who depicts Firuz as an Armenian.

15 Natasha Hodgeson argues that Latin-Armenian marriages like both Baldwin I's to a daughter of the prominent Thoros of Marash and Baldwin II's to Morfia continued after the first phase of the Latin settlement. Hodgeson, "Conflict and Cohabitation: Marriage and Diplomacy Between Latins and Cilician Armenians, 1097–1253," *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories*, ed. Conor Kostick (Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2010), 83–107; here, 87. Ralph of Caen discusses the Armenians' contribution to the First Crusade more than any other Latin author.

16 *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimatanorum* [The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem], trans. Rosalind Hill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967). From here on referred to as *GF*.

17 Joshua C. Birk, "The Betrayal of Antioch: Narratives of Conversion and Conquest during the First Crusade," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies,* 4.3. (2011): 463–85; here 464.

Nor is it clear how Bohemond and Firuz first established contact; the *Gesta* author only wrote of a "certain amir of Turkish race called Firuz, who had struck up a great friendship with Bohemond," continued by Bohemond's messengers during the siege.[18] The language of exchange between them was almost certainly Greek, suggested by Firuz's use of Greek to express concern for the small number of Franks who first climbed into his tower, and demanded to know Bohemond's whereabouts. Greek remained spoken in Bohemond's homelands of Sicily and Apulia for centuries after his death, while many Antiochenes would have used it as the language of administration during the city's Byzantine period.[19] Firuz and Bohemond, then, represent the two sources of multilingualism in what would become the Frankish Levant: Locals accustomed to interaction among Greek, Arabic, Turkish, and Armenian speakers, and Romance-language speakers who brought their own skills in Greek and Arabic to the area.

While Bohemond may have been able to negotiate Firuz's betrayal himself, he "sent an interpreter to the Saracen leaders to tell them that if they, with their wives and children and goods, would take refuge in a palace which lies above the gate he would save them from death."[20] This is the first recorded instance in which the Latins used an interpreter as messenger, apparently dispatching him to carry out his mission under his own direction, rather than sending an envoy accompanied by an interpreter.

One of the interpreters available among the hosts at the time was Herluin, sent with Peter the Hermit to negotiate with Kerboghā, the *atabeg*, or military governor, of Mosul, when his Turkish army laid siege to Antioch immediately after its fall to the Franks. All three writers present during the First Crusade commented on the episode, but their individual interests are handled differently, and these differences deserve attention. While the *Gesta* author wrote only "it is reported that Herluin knew both languages, and that he acted as interpreter for Peter the Hermit," the name Herluin is found in records of eleventh century Norman nobility, pointing to Duke Robert's or Bohemond's contingent.[21] The *Gesta* author is the only one present on the Crusade to mention him; Fulcher of Chartres and Raymond d'Aguilers only discussed Peter the Hermit—interpreters were not sufficiently relevant to them to be worth mentioning. Later historians, including William of Tyre, Robert the Monk, and Guibert de Nogent also referred

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18 *GF* (see note 16),VIII.xx, 44.

19 *GF* (see note 16), VIII.xx, 47; Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (see note 9), 37.

20 *GF* (see note 16), X.xxxii, 79.

21 *GF* (see note 16), IX.xxviii, 67; Foundation for Medieval Genealogy, "Normandy, Nobility," *Medieval Lands*, http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/index.htm (last accessed on Sept. 25, 2015).

to Herluin by name, all of them drawing on the *Gesta* as a source.[22] This further suggests Herluin may have been in Bohemond's train along with the *Gesta* author, and the fact that he is named, rather than simply referred to as an interpreter, could suggest noble rank or some other kind of importance, or could reflect the *Gesta* author's comfort with multilingual situations and the strategic relevance of interpreters. In any case, Herluin, like Bohemond and his nephews Tancred and Richard, was among the ranks of polyglots who came to the Levant on the Crusade, adding Turkish or Arabic to their linguistic arsenal.

Elaborating on the *Gesta* Robert the Monk added an interesting augmentation to his version: Herluin accompanied Peter but was not the interpreter, who delivered Peter's first speech offering Kerboghā and his army peace in exchange for surrender and conversion. When Kerboghā responded by offering to give lands freely if the Franks would convert, making them all his mounted soldiers, however, it was Herluin who righteously rejected the offer, enraging Kerboghā. While the incident is a dramatic tailoring of the *Gesta*, it is notable that Herluin, not the nameless interpreter, made the important rejection, and while the text gives a clear impression that he had sufficient command of Turkish or Arabic for communication with Kerboghā directly, he did not act as the interpreter, who was given only the less important speeches.[23]

This contrast between accounts is best interpreted by comparing their authors. Robert the Monk wrote his *Historia* using the *Gesta*, written by a firsthand participant, as a guide, but in a French abbey, sometime around 1106–1107.[24] I believe that it was a matter of pragmatism—interpreters were rarely named in the sources, if mentioned at all, and were handled much in the way of invisible servants: necessary, but uninteresting. Herluin might have been multilingual like these interpreters, but if he was named, he must have somehow stood out from such faceless necessities, so Robert added an official interpreter to perform the tedious task for him. The *Gesta* author, however, was willing to

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22 *FC* (see note 12), I.XXI.1, 103; Raymond D'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem* [History of the Franks Who Captured Jerusalem], ed. and trans. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), Ch. V, 46; William of Tyre, *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum* [A History of the Deeds done Beyond the Sea], trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, vol. I (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943) (hereafter referred to as WT), 6.15, 1, 282; Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana* [History of Jerusalem], *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, ed. and trans. Carol Sweetenhamm. Crusade Texts in Translation, V.11 (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006), VI.VII, 166; Guibert de Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos* [The Deeds of God through the Franks], trans. Robert Levine (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), Book 6, 107.

23 Robert the Monk, *History of the First Crusade* (see note 22), 166.

24 Sweetenham, "Introduction" (see note 22), 6, 17.

have a man important enough to be mentioned by name act as a lowly interpreter, or saw an interpreter as inherently important enough to name, suggesting that the survivor of the multilingual Eastern campaign saw interpreters in more positive light, perhaps out of necessity, whereas the Frankish monk in his abbey saw them as tools rather than actors.

Even in the *Gesta*, Herluin is a shadowy figure, only distinguished by his language skills, used exclusively for interpreting Peter's negotiations. In contrast, Tancred and Richard of the Principate, Bohemond's cousins and lieutenants, negotiated with Kerboghā themselves: "However Richard and Tancred, who both knew the Syrian language, consulted daily with the emir to get lord Bohemund to return the castle, and he [paid] him the greatest honor of gifts." The differences between the discussions of the three intermediaries in these sources are striking: Herluin, who had no major role in the military-political theater of the Crusade or the later settlements, was mentioned only as an interpreter for Peter, before disappearing once more into the background. Richard and Tancred, however, had more than simple Arabic skills. High-ranking and influential throughout the campaign and especially in the establishment of the Principality of Antioch, they used their language skills as negotiators directly from Bohemond to Kerboghā. Rather than interpreters for powerful figures, they themselves were in a position of power and recognition. Because of this, they stood out among the early interpreters, a point to which I shall return.

After defeating Kerboghā's besieging army, the majority of the Franks continued the march to Jerusalem, with Bohemond remaining in Antioch. En route, the commanders began making their first peace agreements with local Muslim potentates, as well as establishing relationships with Oriental Christians.

William of Tyre, Western-educated but born in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, was almost certainly able to read Greek and probably Arabic as well. His translator Emily Babcock argues for his use of Arabic sources for his *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmariuns Gestarum*, and William himself gives the definitions and etymologies of various Arabic names throughout the *Historia*.[25] Writing primarily during the 1140s–1180s, an era when cooperation with certain Muslim *amīr*s had become standard practice, William includes more such incidents of immediate

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25 Emily Atwater Babcock, "Introduction," *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum* [A History of the Deeds done Beyond the Sea], trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, vol. I (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 6–30. William acted as an ambassador to the Byzantine court, and refers to Amalric I of Jerusalem commissioning him to write a Gesta Orientalium Principum (Deeds of the Oriental Princes) for which the king provided William with Arabic texts. The work is now lost. For William's Arabic etymologies, WT (see note 22), XI.XXXI, 2, 515; XV.XXV, 2, 131, XVIII.XXI, 2, 324.

collaboration: The governor of Tripoli offered money, valuables, and the return of captives should his provinces be spared, and he sent provisions to prevent scavenging.[26] The governor of Acre also presented gifts, and "entered into an agreement" with the leaders of the Crusade to surrender the city of Ascalon peacefully if they could hold Jerusalem for twenty days or defeat the Egyptians.[27] Presented with a large force that had already managed several conquests, these governors ensured the survival of their cities without making lasting promises to the Franks. For their own part, the Franks kept the local leaders from interfering in their final goal of Jerusalem; making agreements with individual polities also prevented any united Muslim force from descending on the outnumbered Crusaders.

The relationships were intended to be temporary, but were revised when the Franks' role in the local power dynamic became clear, and they became more comfortable establishing long-term alliances with Muslims, rather than short-term armistices. Local Muslims also acknowledged the newcomers as permanent additions to the region. Intermediaries, probably interpreters, would have been necessary for these agreements, but were not mentioned by any of the sources; relationships with Muslims were memorable, but the individuals who mediated them were not yet important enough to be so as well.

The lord of the castle of Ezaz, or Azaz (Hasarth in William of Tyre), a small local fortress controlled by Aleppo, however, acted as if he expected the Crusaders to evolve into long-term players in the Levantine arena even before the conquest of Jerusalem. In need of support in a local power struggle with Riḍwān of Aleppo, he made overtures to Godfrey of Bouillon to "request an alliance of friendship," offering gifts, his son as hostage, and his own devoted service.[28]

Significantly, in his attempt to form a lasting relationship with the Franks, Azaz's ruler sent "one of his own people, a loyal Christian" to act as an intermediary.[29] The governor of Tripoli sent a delegation; the king of Shaizar, from a prominent Arab dynasty, sent two Turks; both of them simply wanted the Franks to pass their lands without ravaging them. The lord of Azaz preferred to send a co-religionist to mediate more actively between himself and the invading Christians, relying on their common faith to encourage a relationship. Direct Muslim-Latin relations at this juncture were not strong enough to foster a true political alliance; such a bond required a Christian intermediary. The Muslim

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26 WT (see note 22), VII.21, 1, 329–30.

27 WT (see note 22), VII.22, 1, 332.

28 WT (see note 22), VII.3, 1, 301.

29 WT (see note 22), VII.3, 1, 301.

leaders may also have thought local Christians more likely to share a language with the Latin newcomers.

The Franks themselves began by using local Christians as well; Raymond d'Aguilers, present in the entourage of Raymond of Toulouse, mentions questioning Syrians about the best route to Jerusalem.[30] While this may have been symptomatic of Frankish discomfort with a totally alien religion, it also supports the possibility that Eastern Christians had better access to shared languages than their Muslim neighbors.

2 A Latin Kingdom in the East (1099 – 1191)

Despite this early reliance on local Christians, after taking Jerusalem by siege in 1099, founding the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Franks began to establish themselves as permanent residents and members of the Levantine community, with polyglots becoming more common in their own entourages. Soon after the fall of the city, on an expedition near Ascalon, Raymond of Toulouse decided to send a converted Turk named Bohemond to the *amīr* in command to make peace, and at the same time gauge his willingness to fight or flee. Whatever his origins, Raymond d'Aguilers describes Bohemond as "multilingual, clever and shrewd as well as loyal to us." Since his Norman namesake was present at his baptism, as Raymond wrote, this Bohemond probably joined the Crusade sometime before it left Antioch in the summer of 1098, time enough to have established his loyalty and polished, if not acquired, his knowledge of Western languages.[31]

Bohemond the Turk introduces two of the subsidiary roles of the interpreter: envoy and spy. To be sent to carry out all these roles, rather than simply interpreting for someone else, Bohemond would have been deeply trusted by Raymond of Toulouse, both for direct loyalty to his cause and for his ability to carry out high-profile mission, and would probably have proven himself on previous occasions not discussed in the *Historia*. Thus, the early years of the Kingdom of Jerusalem find the Franks beginning to gather competent, loyal interpreters for their own service, rather than relying on the more independent Byzantines or Syrian Christians, establishing a long-term, Latin-controlled support base; languages were recognized as a valuable asset worth controlling more directly.

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30 Raymond d'Aguilers (see note 22), *Historia Francorum* (see note 22), Ch. XIII, 108.
31 Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum* (see note 22), Ch. XV, 135.

In the 1140s, Baldwin II of Jerusalem supported a "Turkish satrap" who had come to Jerusalem requesting military support against Mejeredin (Mujīr al-Dīn) and Anar (Muʾīn ad-ʿUnar) of Damascus, promising that "if an honorable compensation worthy of his consideration were granted him, he would surrender to them the city of Bostrum, over which he ruled, and also the stronghold of Selcath."[32] On this expedition, the Latins lacked a multilingual intermediary as trustworthy as Bohemond the Turk. Broken by thirst and badly outnumbered, they again sent an envoy for peace, but had only "a man of rather doubtful repute," who previously, "had acted disloyally" to the Christians while on a similar task. Only his "familiarity with the language of the Turks" made him eligible to act as an envoy.[33]

William of Tyre wrote nothing about the envoy's origins, or how he became acquainted with multiple languages, but his description of the episode provides important information about intermediaries. While William only mentions his earlier mission to disparage him, his repeated choice as envoy demonstrates that polyglots were at least becoming, if they had not already become, an accepted class of intermediaries necessary to local politics, becoming agents of power rather than mouthpieces. However, they could not yet have been common, certainly not in the ranks, or another, more trustworthy man could have been chosen for the mission. Like Bohemond the Turk, he was sent because of his language skills, but as the sole envoy, not merely as an interpreter accompanying one.

The role of interpreter thus began to blend into envoy, without taking on the power or autonomy of a negotiator or ambassador. With this increased role, the interpreter-envoy gained more prestige, as demonstrated by the amount of detail about them given by Raymond and William, although it must be noted that both men discussed are extraordinary. Bohemond, a converted Turk, was worth mentioning because of the level of trust placed in a convert, and the envoy because of his untrustworthiness. Latin leaders in the first years of the new kingdom recognized the long-term need for interpreters in their own service, men who could travel with them and would remain loyal, but were still only able to recruit them from a small pool of polyglots.

As the Franks settled into the Levant in the first decades of the twelfth century, some began learning local languages as well. The disgraced envoy may have been one of the new, easternized Franks, rather than a locally-born Arabic

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32 WT (see note 22), XVI.8, 146–147.
33 WT (see note 22), XVI.12. While William here uses "Christians," it does not imply that the man was not Christian himself; he frequently refers to the Latins this way.

or Turkish speaker who had learned a Romance language like Bohemond the Turk. In 1119, Baldwin II supported the Antiochenes against Il-Ghazi, a major Turkish threat in the region, near Sardanium (Zardanā), where a Turk noticed a knight's knowledge of "the Persian language," and harangued him in it.[34]In this episode two details stand out: The polyglot here may be assumed to have been using the "Persian" language somewhere he could be heard by Il-Ghazi's men, probably in a casual context since the Turk felt free to harangue him—perhaps communicating with a local supporter. More importantly, he was of the chivalric class. Multilingualism had begun working up the Frankish hierarchy, but was still uncommon enough, at least at the chivalric level, that Fulcher of Chartres found it worth mentioning.

This increasing linguistic fluency among the Franks is representative of their growing sense of a Levantine identity. Fulcher, writing until his death in Jerusalem in 1127, famously comments on this in the most quoted passage on language and identity in the Latin East:

> Nam qui suimus Occidentales, nunc facti sumus Orientales. Qui fuit Romanus aut Francus, hac in terra factus est Galilaeus aut Palaestinus. Qui suit Remensis aut Carnotensis, nunc efficitur Tyrius vel Antiochenus. Iam obliti sumus navititatus nostrae loca, iam nobis pluribus vel sunt ignota vel etiam inaudita. Hic iam possidet domos proprias et familas quasi iure paterno et hereidtario, ille vero iam duxit uxorem non tanum compatriotatum, sed et Syram aut Armenam et interdum Saracenam, batismi autem gratiam adeptam ...[35]

> [For we who were Occidentals have now become Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank has in this land been made into a Galilean or a Palestinian. He who was of Rheims or Chartres has now become a citizen of Tyre or Antioch. We have already forgotten the places of our birth; already these are unknown to many of us or not mentioned any more ... Some have taken wives not only of their own people but Syrians or Armenians or even Saracens who have obtained the grace of baptism ... Out here there are grandchildren and great-grandchildren. ... He who was born a stranger is now as one born here; he who was born an alien has become a native.[36]]

This new, Eastern, Latin identity included an attitude open to personal and political relationships with local Muslims, who also accepted the Latin polities as players in the regional arena. During the 1130s, the ambitious ʿImād ad-Dīn Zangī atabeg of Aleppo and Mosul under the Saljūqs, began showing an interest

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34 FC (see note 12), III.IV.4, 229. Here, as elsewhere in the Latin chronicles, the ethnic terminology is unclear. Alan V. Murray points out that Il-Ghazi was a Turcoman leader and suggests that here "Persian" represents "Turkish." Personal communication, February 18, 2013.

35 Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1913), III.XXXVII.2–4, 248.

36 FC (see note 12), III.XXXVII.2–7, 272.

in controlling Damascus, ruled by its own atabegs. In 1140, Muʾīn ad-Dīnʿ Unar, *wazīr* (vizier) and essentially regent for the minor atabeg Mujīr ad-Dīn of Damascus, turned to the Kingdom of Jerusalem for support against Zangī.[37] The Damascenes were particularly concerned with protecting the city of Banyās in Syria, which they preferred "should be restored to the Christians, whose favor they enjoyed, rather than see it held by an enemy whom they greatly feared and mistrusted;" they probably wished to maintain the local balance of power, rather than see any one faction grow too powerful, as Zangī appeared to be attempting.[38] Muʾīn ad-Dīn, "Anar," in William of Tyre's *Historia*, himself acted as an intermediary between the Latins and other Muslims, negotiating the terms of the surrender of Banyās through his own envoys, but confirming them with his Latin allies before solidifying the agreement.[39] Rather than seeing itself as an isolated colony of Latins surrounded by a sea of indistinguishable Muslims, the Latin principalities acted as members of the network of many competing polities of the region, allying with certain Muslim potentates to offset the power of others, a political strategy in the tradition of the Levant.[40] This sort of political integration into local politics required a level of linguistic integration as well, with multilingualism becoming more prevalent, and more prominent, among Latins as it became more central to maintaining power in the region.

These alliances were not restricted to Muslims, however; the Latins, particularly those in the northern County of Edessa and Principality of Antioch, also maintained cooperative relations with the Armenians within their own borders, and in Cilician Kingdom of Armenia, despite their adherence to either the Greek or Armenian Orthodox churches. Antioch had been an Armenian territory before the Turkish conquest, and Edessa remained one until Baldwin I's succession to Thoros in 1098. Baldwin consolidated his rule in Edessa by marrying an unnamed daughter of Thoros of Marash, a prominent Armenian who provided a rich dowry.[41] His cousin Baldwin II, who followed him both as Count of Edessa and King of Jerusalem, also married an Armenian, Morfia, daughter of the duke

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[37] WT (see note 22), XV.9, 2, 106–07.

[38] WT (see note 22) XV.9, 2, 106–07.

[39] WT (see note 22) XV.9, 2, 106–07.

[40] For more on the political integration of the Latin polities into an arena of "autonomous Syrian lordships," see Michael Köhler's excellent *Alliances and Treaties Between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East: Cross-Cultural Diplomacy in the Period of the Crusades*, trans. Peter Holt, ed. Konrad Hirschler. The Muslim World in the Age of the Crusades Vol. 1 (1991; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), particularly his chapter "Relations Between the Frankish, Turkish, and Arab States in the Period of the Syrian Autonomous Rulers (1098–1158)," 59–178.

[41] WT (see note 22), X.2, 1, 416.

Gabriel of Malatia who "was Armenian by birth, language, and habit, but Greek in faith."[42] Baldwin's sister Beatrice married Leo, Prince of Armenia and a cousin of Thoros, whose own sister, also named Beatrice, married Joscelin of Turbessel, who would become Count of Edessa after Baldwin's coronation as King of Jerusalem; other major northern-Syrian Latin lords followed suit.[43]

Natasha Hodgeson, interested in women and marriage in the Latin East, argues that particularly in northern Syria, Latins continued to marry Armenians even after the first phase of settlement.[44] With such extensive intermarriage, Romance-Armenian multilingualism must have developed in the north much in the way Fulcher described language sharing in Jerusalem. No later than his death in 1127, he noticed how "people use the eloquence and idioms of diverse languages in conversing back and forth. Words of different languages have become common property known to each nationality."[45]

Arabic was another of these shared languages, absorbed from local Syrian Christians as well as Muslim. Ibn Jubayr, a Muslim traveller returning to Spain from Mecca via Acre in 1184, commented on how the "Christian clerks of the Customs" of the customs-house his caravan went through

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42 WT (see note 22), X.24, 1, 450.

43 W. H. Rüdt Collenberg's research into the genealogy of the extensive intermarriage between Latins—particularly those in Antioch and Edessa—and Armenians and Byzantines remains the most thorough. He lays his findings out in several impressive family trees in *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans: The Structure of the Armeno-Cilician Dynasties:* Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Armenian Library (Paris: Librarie C. Klinksieck, 1963). These intermarriages had cultural repercussions beyond the spread of multilingualism, particularly through the agency of Morfia's daughters—Melisende, Queen of Jerusalem; Alice, Princess of Antioch; and Hodierna, Countess of Tripoli, and their heirs, who would rule the Latin Levant with an innate awareness of its Eastern setting their western-born ancestors lacked, as I argued in "A Century of Communication and Acclimatization: Interpreters and Intermediaries in the Kingdom of Jerusalem," *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Modern Times* (see note 5), 311–40, and with a more Armenian focus in "The Personal and Political: Marriage Alliances in Antioch and Edessa" (Master's Thesis, Ohio State University, 2014), and with "A Single Crusader in Possession of a Syrian Territory Must be in Want of an Armenian Wife: The Role of Armenian In-Laws in Baldwin II of Jerusalem and Joscelin of Edessa's Rescue," presented at the Midwest Association of Medievalists, October 2015.

44 Hodgeson (see note 15), "Conflict and Cohabitation," 87.

45 FC (see note 12), III.XXXVII.2–7, 272.

write Arabic, which they also speak. Their chief is the Sahib al-Diwan [Chief of the Customs] [...] He is known as al-Sahib, a title bestowed on him by reason of his office, and which they apply to all respected persons, save the soldiery who hold office with them.[46]

These Christians were probably Syrians, entrusted with a job that entailed using their Arabic language skills and mediating between Arabic-speaking travelers and merchants and Latin officials.

A similar post was included in the Master of the Teutonic Order's household, by order of the Order's Statutes, which gave him a *scriptor sarracenicus*, a Saracen scribe. Houben argues this scribe may also have "had the function of interpreter to communicate with the Turcopoles and with Arabs in general," three Turcopoles also being included in the household. *Turcopole* seems to have originally referred to Turkic mercenaries in the Byzantine army, who made their way into the military orders as well. They may have been mixed children of local women with Latin men, as Houben suggests, or Muslim converts to Christianity, as J. Richard argues, although a combination of both—perhaps beginning with converts and absorbing more mixed-race children as they grew up—seems possible as well.[47] Kedar confirms a Petrus Baptizatus and Gaifredus Baptizatus are included in lists of Turcopoles, suggesting that conversion carried a social significance to the point of inclusion in naming practices.[48]

Muslims began converting with the First Crusade, as discussed above with the Turk Bohemond. Benjamin Kedar cites Albert of Aachen regarding two more early converts: one in Baldwin I of Jerusalem's retinue was hanged for colluding with Muslims during the 1110 siege of Sidon, while another prevented a Muslim attempt to infiltrate Jerusalem itself in 1112, and argues that these are

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46 Ibn Jubayr, *Ar-Riḥla*, [The Travels], trans. by R. J. C. Broadhurst (London: Jonathan Cape Publishers, 1952), 317. See Albrecht Classen's detailed introduction to *East Meets West* (see note 5), 36–41, 96, 97.

47 Hubert Houben, "Intercultural Communication: The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia, and Cyprus," *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1000–1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Alexander Beihammer, Maria Parani and Chris Schabel. The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economics, and Cultures, 400–1500, 74 (Leiden, and Boston: Brill, 2008), 139–158; here 141–142. See also Cyril Aslanov and B. Z. Kedar, "Problems in the Study of Trans-Cultural Borrowing in the Frankish Levant," *Hybride Kulturen im mittelalterlichen Europa: Vorträge und Workshops einer internationalen Frühlingsschule*, ed. Michael Borgolte and Bernd Schneidmüller (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010), 277–85; here, 279–80. J. Richards, cited by Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Multidirectional Conversion in the Frankish Levant," *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. James Muldoon (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1997), 190–200; here, 192.

48 Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Toward the Muslims*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 76.

only the ones worth noting, while many others probably existed without mention.[49] Many slaves, probably captured in war, also converted, whether out of true faith or the desire for the freedom that came with it. Such conversion was widespread enough that multiple statutes threatened excommunication for Latin lords who discouraged it, and continued decades after the first conquests, with a papal legate receiving authorization in 1174 to allow converts to keep wives—even multiple wives—married before their conversion.[50]

Unconverted Muslim-majority communities were common in rural areas controlled by Latins, as noted by ibn Jubayr as well. "Our way [to Acre] lay through continuous farms and ordered settlements, whose inhabitants were all Muslims, living comfortably with the Franks," left alone but for a cash poll-tax and half their crops. "All the coastal cities occupied by the Franks are managed in this fashion, their rural districts, the villages and farms, belonging to the Muslims."[51]

Ibn Jubayr's account is that of an outsider, visiting from al-Andalūs in modern Spain; however, a local Muslim's perspective on the Frankish Levant is available in the memoirs of Usāma Ibn Munqidh, scion of a powerful clan in Shaizar, Syria, as well as a roving courtier of the Levant. During the truce between the Damascus and Jerusalem, Usāma "used to visit frequently," when "the Franks used to bring before me their captives so that I might buy them off." He did not remain separate from the Franks during these visits, but mixed closely enough with them to comment on the differences between the "fresh emigrant from the Frankish lands [who] is ruder in character than those who have become acclimatized and have held long association with the Muslims," and make "friends" among the Templars and with an Arabic-speaking Latin who kept an Egyptian cook to prepare the Eastern food he preferred.[52]

These Muslims were not the only Arabic-speakers native to the Levant; Kedar cites ibn al-ʿArabī, an Andalusī who travelled in the area in the 1090 s during his *hajj*, as writing of a Syrian Christian, rather than Muslim, majority: "the land is theirs, they till its estates, attend to its monasteries and maintain its churches."[53]

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49 Kedar, "Multidirectional Conversion" (see note 47), 192.

50 Kedar, "Multidirectional Conversion" (see note 47), 192–94.

51 Ibn Jubayr, *Ar-Riḥla* (see note 46), 317.

52 Usāma Ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-Iʿitabār* [The Book of Contemplation], trans. P. Hitti as *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman in the Period of the Crusades: The Memoirs of Usāmah ibn Munqidh* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929). 163–64.

53 Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Some New Sources on Palestinian Muslims Before and During the Crusades," id., *Franks, Muslims and Oriental Christians in the Latin Levant: Studies in Frontier Acculturation.* Variorum Collected Studies Series, 868 (Farnham, UK and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2006). 131.

Ronnie Ellenblum, using extensive archaeological evidence, argues that it was among these Arabic-speaking Christians that rural Latin Christians made their homes, while avoiding areas dense with Muslim populations. Such communities became integrated to the extent of shared churches, suggesting the sort of extensive day-to-day interaction which facilitates multilingualism and intermarriage.[54]

During the last half of the twelfth century, tensions rose between the Levantine Franks and their neighbors, triggered by the fall of Edessa in 1144 to Zengī and the disastrous Second Crusade against his son, Nūr ad-Dīn. Even more dangerous was Nūr ad-Dīn's ambitious follower Saladin, who brought many of the once-independent and competitive Muslim polities of the region under his leadership, upsetting the balance of power. During the time leading up to Saladin's capture of Jerusalem and the resulting Third Crusade, several high-ranking men emerged as powerful polyglots: Count Raymond III of Tripoli, Reynald de Sidon, and Humphrey IV of Toron.

In 1175 Saladin took Homs in Syria, offering the free return of hostages in exchange for safe passage across Raymond III of Tripoli's lands, with his vassal Humphrey II of Toron—Humphrey IV's grandfather—mediating. Humphrey II, Humphrey IV's grandfather, mediated the negotiations.[55] As his relationship with King Guy and Queen Sibylla of Jerusalem worsened due to factional politics around the throne, Raymond's relationship with Saladin became closer, with Raymond personally discussing terms with the sultan. Hadia Dajani-Shakeel believes Raymond to have been fluent in Arabic, based on his relationship with Saladin and time spent in Muslim captivity.[56] Friedman, interested in captivity and communication in the Latin East, agrees, and argues he learned in captivity; perhaps his relationship with Saladin began during his 1166–1172 experience in Muslim hands.[57] None of the contemporary sources comment either on his Arabic knowledge, or need for an interpreter, however, leaving his linguistic skills uncertain. Ibn al-Athīr, a historian based in Mosul with connections to Saladin,

54 Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998). 283.

55 WT (see note 22), XXI.9, 2, 410. See now also Hannes Möhring, *Saladin, the Sultan and His Times, 1138–1193*; trans. David S. Bachrach; intro. Paul M. Cobb (2005; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

56 Hadia Dajani-Shakeel, "Diplomatic Relations Between Muslim and Frankish Rulers 1097–1153 A.D." *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller. The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453, 1 (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1993), 190–215; here 211. Raymond was captured in battle against Nūr ad-Dīn, and imprisoned in Aleppo.

57 Yvonne Friedman, *Encounter Between Enemies: Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Leiden: Brill 2002), 119; WT (see note 22), XX.28, 1, 390.

and ʿImād ad-Dīn, the sultan's secretary at the time, wrote that sometime in 1186–1187 Raymond "made contact with Saladin, allied himself to him for his support and asked him for help in attaining" kingship, which Saladin promised, releasing several of Raymond's knights from captivity as a gesture of good faith. In return, Raymond "gave open allegiance to Saladin," followed by several unnamed Franks.[58]

Despite this beginning, Raymond did not provide the support promised in letters written to Saladin, and was soon pressured back into the Latin fold. Both religious and military figures "censured him for his alliance with Saladin, saying, 'There is no doubt that you have become a Muslim, otherwise you could not have endured what the Muslims did to the Franks recently,'" threatening to excommunicate him and declare his marriage invalid. At these threats, Raymond repented and rejoined the Latin force, but his loyalty remained suspect.[59]

In 1187, Saladin took Raymond's town of Tiberias; and yet since his wife Eschiva still held the citadel, Reynald de Châtillon, a Westerner who had married into two prominent local families, and his supporters demanded an immediate attack. Raymond argued that Saladin's army was too strong to attack, but that it would not be able to remain in the city for long, making it safer to retake Tiberias later, once the bulk of the Muslim army had moved on, leaving only a garrison. Reynald responded with an accusation, "'That is enough making us frightened of the Muslims! There is no doubt that you are on their side and favour them, otherwise you would not have spoken so.'" Raymond capitulated; the Latins advanced, and their army was largely destroyed between the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn on the way to Tiberias, with the majority of their leaders, including King Guy and Reynald de Châtillon, captured, and the bulk of the army killed or enslaved, breaking the Latins' military strength.[60] Saladin took Jerusalem in 1189; the west responded with the Third Crusade in 1191.

Like Raymond, Reynald de Sidon is first mentioned in Arabic sources as being in some kind of comfortable or at least neutral relationship with Saladin,

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58 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fīʾl-tāʾrīkh*, [The Complete History], trans. D. S. Richards in *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from Al-Kāmil fīʾl-tārīkh*. Part 1: *The Years 491–541/1097–1146: The Coming of the Franks and the Muslim Response*. Crusade Texts in Translation, 13 (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006); *Al-Kāmil fīʾl-tārīkh*, Part 2: *The Years 541–589/1146–1193: The Age of Nur al-Dīn and Saladin*. Crusade Texts in Translation, 15 (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Asghate, 2007); *Al-Kāmil fīʾl-tārīkh*, Part 3: *The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyūbids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace*, Crusade Texts in Translation, 17 (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 2, 316.
59 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fīʾl-tārīkh*, Part 2 (see note 58), 320.
60 bn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fīʾl-tārīkh*, Part 2 (see note 58), 321.

but distanced himself during the Third Crusade, pressured by censure by his co-religionists. Bahā' ad-Dīn, accompanying Saladin as his secretary at the time, describes Reynald as not only speaking Arabic, but also with some knowledge of Muslim history and religious works; "I heard that he kept a Muslim who read to him and explained things," the secretary adds.[61] His Arabic in particular was impressive; Bahā' ad-Dīn found him "an excellent conversationalist and cultured in his talk," able to argue "with us about his religion while we argued for its falsity." He appears to have had some kind of contact with Saladin before May of 1189, as when the sultan laid siege to his castle of Shaqīf Arnūn, or Beaufort, Reynald realized "improving his relationship with the sultan" offered his best chance at survival. To this end he "came down in person" and ate with Saladin; privately, he offered his allegiance: "He would surrender the place to him without trouble, stipulating that he be given a place to live in Damascus, for he could not subsequently live among the Franks," a fief to support him, and three months to gather his family and retainers from Tyre.[62] It was during this period that Reynald demonstrated his proficiency as an Arabic conversationalist, but he also raised Saladin's suspicions by strengthening the castle's defenses and stocking provisions. At the end of the three months he continued to hedge, inventing excuses not to surrender, until Saladin's patience wore thin; finally on August 13 he went with the Sultan and a large train of *amīr*s and troops to hand over the castle, a scene Bahā' ad-Dīn describes in detail.

> They came to ash-Shaqīf and he ordered his men to give up but they refused. He asked for a priest with whom, when he appeared, he conversed in his language. The priest went back in and after his return their resistance grew stronger. It was thought that he had strongly urged the priest to hold out.[63]

Reynald's double-dealing here takes on a unique linguistic turn: In Arabic, he orders the garrison's surrender; in French, he appears to encourage its resistance. Saladin's patience snapped at the garrison's resistance; Reynald was sent to Banyās, where he was tortured, and not released until April of 1190 when the garrison demanded his release in the terms of their surrender.[64] Such a political-linguistic incident had only become possible since knowledge of Arabic had reached the major political leaders of the Latin East.

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61 Bahā' ad-Dīn (see note 1), 90–91.
62 Bahā' ad-Dīn (see note 1), 90–91; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-tārīkh*, Part 2 (see note 58), 361.
63 Bahā' ad-Dīn (see note 1), 90–91.
64 Bahā' ad-Dīn (see note 1), 90–91, 108.

With Reynald and Raymond came the culmination of the Eastern-born Latin polyglot—conversant in Arabic culture as well as language, these high-powered nobles conducted negotiations with Saladin directly on their own behalves, acting as Eastern princes themselves. With the arrival of Conrad of Montferrat and the princes of the Third Crusade, multilingual nobles were absorbed into the entourages of Western leaders to function as intermediaries and interpreters between more powerful men, a very different role in a new, polarized milieu.

3 The Third Crusade (1191–1192)

The sources from 1187–1192 are strongly polarized by political and religious affinity. Ibn al-Athīr discussed Frankish-Ayyūbid relations from a distance, but Bahā' ad-Dīn ibn Shaddad and ʿImād ad-Dīn al-Isfāhanī wrote directly from Saladin's tent, working as his secretaries. The Latins are represented only by Western writers: an anonymous crusader in Richard I of England's host wrote the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardum* [The Itinerary of the Pilgrims and Deeds of King Richard], which was reworked by Ambroise, also a Crusader following Richard, as *Estoire de la guerre sainte* [History of the Holy War], a rhymed poem. The narratives of the Third Crusade are thus split between adherents of Saladin and Richard, two groups who both came into the Holy Land explicitly to reconquer it; no source represents the native-born Latins as the multilingual William of Tyre provided with his *Historia*.

Summer 1191 found the remains of the Latin army laying siege to Acre, led by Conrad of Montferrat. Originally from northern Italy, Conrad had spent considerable time in Byzantium before coming to join his father in the Levant in 1187. In 1190 he married Isabella of Jerusalem, who had inherited the crown from her sister, Sibylla, making him de jure King of Jerusalem with the support of Isabella's stepfather, Balian d'Ibelin, Reynald de Sidon, and other barons of the Latin East with no love for Guy, who had survived his wife and continued to claim the title King of Jerusalem. The armies of Richard I of England and Philip II of France, leaders of the Third Crusade, conjoined on Acre in June, 1191. With the arrival of support from across the sea, a dichotomy also became evident between Western- and Eastern-born Latins, with the latter using their language skills under the leadership of the former.

The siege was long and miserable for both sides. Before the city capitulated out of starvation, Saladin managed to slip supplies into the city by equipping several ships with "Christian symbols" and sailors "imitating the Christians' speech," enabling them to blend in with the besiegers' navy until they darted

into the city, boosting the defenders' resistance.[65] Suspicion of polyglots here was justified.

Frustrated, Richard sent an envoy to make terms, with the resulting interaction setting the pattern for the next two years: The envoy, by Saladin's comments a polyglot, approached al-ʿĀdil (also called Saif ad-Dīn, transliterated into Latin as Saphadin), Saladin's brother, who was to take the role of intermediary often. Al-ʿĀdil saw the envoy to his brother Saladin, to whom "the envoy delivered his message, the gist of which was that the king of England sought a meeting with the Sultan." Saladin, however, did not care for the suggestion, responding,

> Kings do not meet unless an agreement has been reached. It is not good for them to fight after meeting and eating together. If he wants this, an agreement must be settled before it can happen. We must have an interpreter we can trust to act between us, who can make each of us understand what the other says. Let the envoy be our mutual interpreter. If we come to an agreement, the meeting can happen later, God willing.[66]

Richard attempted to impose himself directly into negotiations, but Saladin insisted on the multilingual envoy as mediator and buffer. He was neither noble nor well-known enough for Bahāʾ ad-Dīn to include his name, but the secretary includes names only for major Latins like Richard and Reynald, so this did not preclude the envoy from high rank. Indeed, the fact that he was sent as an envoy at all, rather than simply accompanying one, and approved by Saladin for further diplomatic service, suggests he was of some rank.

The Sultan himself was not present for the city's surrender in July, although he gave his permission for it; Acre's leaders, Mestoc (Saif al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Mashṭūb) and Caracois (Bahāʾ ad-Dīn Qara-Qūsh al-Asadī), had approached the kings asking for safe passage for a messenger to get this permission, and were probably the "leaders" who "went out to our kings and offered through an interpreter to surrender Acre unconditionally," along with the Holy Cross, captives, and a large sum of money.[67] Neither the author of the *Itinerarium Per-*

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65 *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* [Itinerary of the Pilgrimage and Deeds of King Richard] (hereafter referred to as *IP*), trans. Helen J. Nicholson as *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the* Itinerarium Peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi. Crusade Texts in Translation, 3 (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1997), 1.43, 97; see also Bahāʾ ad-Dīn and Ibn al-Athīr, passim.

66 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 1). 153.

67 *IP* (see note 65), 3.15, 216–217, 3:17, 219; Ambroise, *Estoire de la guerre sainte* [History of the Holy War], trans. Merton Jerome Hubert and John L. La Monte, *The Crusade of Richard the Lion-Heart*, XXXIV. Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), lines 5,195–5,220.

egrinorum nor Ambroise, both Westerners, show any interest in these interpreters; as in the early years of the First Crusade, they saw polyglots as necessary, but not in themselves important.

Throughout 1191, Richard continued attempts at peace-making with Saladin through his brother, but the Ayyūbid was aware of the political tension among the Latin Christians, and made use of the division between them. Conrad of Montferrat was closely allied with the Levantine-born faction supporting him and his wife, Queen Isabella of Jerusalem, where Richard, leading the Western relief force and supporting the royal faction around his Poitevin vassal Guy de Lusignan, consort to Isabella's late sister, Sibylla. Eastern-born interpreters found places on both sides of the divide, but had lost the agency Raymond III and Reynald de Sidon demonstrated in their dealings with Saladin before the Westerners' arrival; Arabic-speaking negotiators once again acted as intermediaries between two parties, rather than representing themselves and their own interests.

In late 1191, both Conrad and Richard were in contact with Saladin, who viewed the latter as leading the "Franks from overseas," rather than those native to the Levant.[68] The Sultan conducted drawn-out peace talks with both Latin parties, playing them off each other to extend the negotiations. "Whenever the King of England heard the Marquis' [Conrad's] ambassador was at the Sultan's court he at once [...] resumed negotiations for peace, and it was possible to hope that light would dawn on his night of error."[69] In early November, Conrad's envoy reported "that he would make peace with Islam," demanding Sidon and Beirut "in return for showing open hostility to the Franks, marching on Acre, besieging it and taking it from them." Saladin agreed, keeping an envoy from Richard who had approached for peace talks waiting once again.[70]

On November 5, Reynald de Sidon reentered the scene, sending his men to Saladin's camp to represent Conrad in a "series of talks [...] the upshot of which was that they cut off their support for the Franks and joined us [Saladin's forces] against them." On the 9th, Reynald "presented himself with several others" for a public reception and a private meeting with Saladin, arguing for his alliance with Conrad. The Ayyūbid condition for peace was

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68 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 1), 194.

69 ʿImād ad-Dīn *al-Isfahānī, al-Fath al-qussi fi l-fath al-qudsi* ["Ciceronian Eloquence on the Conquest of the Holy City"], ed. and trans. Francesco Gabrieli, *Storici Arabi Delle Crociate* [Arab Historians of the Crusades]. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 125–39, 240.

70 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 1), 182.

that he should show open hostility to the Franks from overseas [...]. The sultan offered agreement on certain conditions by which he aimed to cause dissension amongst them and that some of them should suffer a reverse.[71]

Reynald's re-entry into Latin-Muslim relations here emphasizes the distinctive role of the high-ranking polyglot: The combination of rank and language skills was not necessary to deal with Saladin; his entourage included interpreters, and had at least since 1187, when 'Imād al-Dīn, who was probably present, mentions him speaking with Guy de Lusignan and Reynald de Châtillon through an interpreter, and Richard's first envoy was a polyglot as well.[72] The choice of Reynald de Sidon over another noble accompanied by an anonymous Arabic-speaking interpreter suggests the combination of his rank and language skill was relevant. His familiarity with Arab-Muslim culture may also have been an important factor; Conrad, the outsider from Northern Italy who had undertaken to lead the Levantine nobles rather than reconquer their territory for them, apparently recognized the significance of a negotiator not only able to communicate with Muslims but also to converse with them intelligently, mediating between cultures as well as languages. Only a Levantine-born Latin noble could fulfill such a role, and Reynald had already demonstrated his abilities in that regard.

Two days after Reynald's arrival, however, Saladin and his *amīr*s decided to offer peace to Richard rather than Conrad, feeling that "a sincere friendship of the [local] Franks toward the Muslims, such that they could mix together, was a remote possibility and an association not safe from treachery."[73] Perhaps Reynald, a local Frank who had mixed with Muslims, was somehow representative of the conditions Saladin feared; his acculturation to the Muslim world might easily be mirrored by a Muslim among the Franks.

Despite this decision, no lasting peace was made at the time, and in April of 1192, Reynald's servant Yūsuf began acting as an envoy in his master's place, marking the first time an intermediary with an Arabic name appears working for Latins, although there is no way to know if he was Muslim, Syrian Christian, or even a Latin "Joseph," his name translated into Arabic by Bahā' ad-Dīn. Similar conditions were agreed upon, but the negotiations broke down with Conrad's

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71 Bahā' ad-Dīn (see note 1), 194.

72 'Imād ad-Dīn (see note 69), 134; Bahā' ad-Dīn, who was also with the Sultan frequently, refers to his interpreters as well (Bahā' ad-Dīn [see note 1], 36–37, 37, 121–22. 148). Ambroise (see note 67).

73 Bahā' ad-Dīn (see note 1), 195.

death in late April.[74] Two assassins who had hidden as Christians in Balian d'I-belin's and Reynald's entourages cut him down in Tyre; Manaqib Rashīd ad-Dīn claims that Rashīd ad-Dīn Sinān, leader of the Assassins, intending to help Sal-adin by removing Conrad, had sent two men trained to speak "the Frankish lan-guage," giving them Frankish clothing and swords in order to infiltrate the camp.[75] Once again, the fear of polyglots was justified. Eight days later Conrad's queen, Isabella I of Jerusalem married once more, to Henry of Champagne, kin to both Richard and Philip II. The marriage avoided factional strife between the Ca-petian and Angevin Crusaders, and ended the worst of the political division be-tween Eastern and Western Latins, bringing the Kingdom of Jerusalem firmly under Richard's leadership, and Latin intermediaries under his control. The fu-ture of the multilingual Levant was in the hands by Richard, a Crusader king.

In September of 1192, however, worn down by persistent illness and con-cerned with the state of his home territories, Richard reopened negotiations in earnest. Once again al-ʿĀdil was sent with Saladin's permission to negotiate free-ly, but this time the Arabic-speaking Humphrey IV of Toron, himself from a pow-erful Eastern family, and Isabella's first husband, set aside in favor of the more dynamic Conrad, acted as Richard's interpreter.[76] Negotiations for peace contin-ued for about a week, with Humphrey "discuss[ing] the matter;" apparently Ri-chard, like Saladin, had stepped back and given his intermediary more power over the negotiations.[77] These negotiations were the last; ʿImād ad-Dīn "helped draw up the treaty and wrote the text," granting the Latins coastal lands from Jaffa to Caesarea and Acre to Tyre, as well as pilgrimage privileges to Jerusalem.[78]

Like the Western-born chroniclers of the First Crusade, those of the Third showed no real interest in the details of interpretation; only the Arabic chroni-clers refer to the men involved by name. This may be due to the position of the authors: ʿImād ad-Dīn and Bahāʾ ad-Dīn were present for much of the rele-vant discussions, whereas Ambroise and the anonymous author of the *Itenerari-um Peregrinorum* were almost certainly not. However, their interest as opposed to their Latin counterparts may demonstrate an Eastern awareness of the relevance of these noble, cultured intermediaries, as opposed to the Western focus on major leaders.

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74 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 1), 199.
75 ʿImād ad-Dīn (see note 69), 239.
76 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 1), 173.
77 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 1), 179; Manaqib Rashīd ad-Dīn ["Virtues of our Lord Rashīd ad-Dīn"], trans. Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (see note 69), 242–43.
78 ʿImād ad-Dīn (see note 69), 236.

The interpreters mentioned by the Arabic chronicles continue the pattern already in motion, with high-ranking Latins personally handling negotiations with Saladin, or al-ʿĀdil, who also interacted directly with Richard on behalf of his brother, but curtailed by the control of their Western leaders, just as the broken remains of the Frankish Levant had become. Reynald de Sidon was no longer an independent lord dealing with Saladin on roughly equal social, though not political, footing; during the Third Crusade, his personal agency and interests were absorbed by Conrad of Montferrat's leadership. Humphrey IV of Toron served Richard I in a similar way; although he was a powerful lord who might have been King of Jerusalem had he Conrad's drive and political acumen, he, like the rest of the Latin East during the Crusade, fell under the control of Westerners. The multilingual world of the Latin Levant had been subsumed by the Crusades.

While the same class of men continued to act as intermediaries from the height of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to the Third Crusade, the realities of the Levant during the early 1190s altered their role along with the political control of the Latin states in the East. Over the course of the twelfth century, Latin nobles born in the East had gradually become more personally involved and engaged in connections with the Muslims around them, the evolution of the Latin states into a Levantine polity, fully integrated into the region, personally as well as politically. With the arrival of Westerners concerned with Latin interests in the Holy Land, particularly Richard I of England, but also Conrad of Montferrat, control of Latin-Muslim relations moved from individual local lords like Raymond III and Reynald de Sidon to the Western leaders, and with it the political leadership of the Latin Levant itself. Polyglots who had been powerful and independent became interpreters and intermediaries for outsiders.

The Franks entered the Levant relying primarily on outsiders to act as intermediaries between the Crusader hosts and the Muslim enemy: Byzantines and Syrians appear to have been the most common interpreters, mediators, and guides, although Bohemond's contingent brought their own Arabic and Greek speakers, most notably Richard of the Principate and Tancred, influential enough to act as negotiators as well. In the early years of the Latin states, leaders retained their own interpreters, some of them converts, who became known as translators and envoys, though still playing a restricted role, as the Latins gradually integrated into the Levantine milieu. During the political height of the Kingdom, second-generation Levantine-born nobles such as Humphrey II, Raymond III, and Reynald de Sidon themselves spoke Arabic, and polyglots shifted from carrying messages to handling negotiations, following the example of Sicilian-born Richard of the Principate and Tancred, and fitting into the mold of mediating courtier demonstrated by the Syrian Usāma Ibn Munqidh.

All of these men were strongly connected to the royal court and family: Humphrey II of Toron was constable of Jerusalem and his grandson, an Arabic speaker who came to prominence during the Third Crusade, married Princess Isabella of Jerusalem; Raymond III served as regent for his second cousin Baldwin IV and retained enough power to be considered a threat to the throne even after his regency ended; Reynald de Sidon married Agnes de Courtenay, Baldwin IV and Sybilla's mother. Knowledge of the Arabic language, and with it relationships with Muslims and a strong Levantine-based identity, reached the highest echelons of Latin society by the last quarter of the twelfth century. The royal connections seen here also imply that more Latin barons could also have acquired such language skills—the Humphreys, Raymond, and Reynald were notable not only for their Arabic knowledge, but for their rank; their contacts with Muslims were dangerous because of their political prominence and strategic lands. Other, less influential figures may have had similar knowledge and experiences, without being considered important enough to be mentioned by name, while other lords relied on the dragomans and other low-level mediating figures in their own cities and lands.

Documentary Evidence of Polyglots

While the narrative evidence provides the most detail about individual polyglots—at least noble ones like Reynald and Humphrey IV—documentary evidence is the stronger for the less dramatic periods between Crusades. In discussing this evidence, I am indebted to scholars like Riley-Smith and Houben who have collected it from the sources themselves.

Ibn Jubayr's Arabic-speaking clerks were not the only multilingual officials in the Frankish East. The Muslims he noticed in the countryside, and those in the cities, relied on intermediaries to communicate with the ruling Latins for them. Villages without lords were run by councils of elders, headed by the rays (Latin) or *ra'īs* (Arabic, "head, leader"); the *ra'īs* also represented urban burgess populations, looking after their goods and taxes, leading the city militia, and "acting as a sort of mayor or provost of merchants."[79] Ibn Jubayr wrote of passing a farmstead near Acre whose "headman is a Muslim, appointed by the Franks to oversee the Muslim workers on it," probably a *ra'īs*.[80]

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79 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London: Shoe String Press, 1973), 47.
80 Ibn Jubayr *Ar-Riḥla* (see note 4), 317.

Another intermediary figure, notable for his structured role as a feudal of-fice-holder, was the *dragoman* or *drugoman*, a corruption of the Arabic *tarjuman* ("translator, interpreter"), sometimes referred to by the Latin/Old French *inter-pret*. There is little information about these men, particularly in terms of their roles and actions, and scholars have interpreted the few details available differ-ently. Joshua Prawer, a proponent of the colonialist reading of the Latin East so-ciety, suggests that the *dragoman* probably began as an interpreter between na-tives and overlords, eventually becoming an official with an income and inherited post. He further argues that an official of Frankish origin was more likely to act as an administrator than an interpreter, retaining the title but not the original role, and if an interpreter were needed, a Syrian Christian who had acquired French would be more suited to the task.[81] Prolific Crusades histor-ian Jonathan Riley-Smith, whose research is referenced heavily by later scholars, including Prawer, suggests that the Islamic legal system of the Levant had used the *mutarjim* ("translator") to assist the *qadī* ("judge") of the districts to deal with the variety of social groups under their jurisdiction, and the Latin lords sim-ply inserted themselves into the ruling role of the existing system.[82] He agrees with Prawer that the *dragoman* was concerned with the administration of justice, but argues that he also acted as "an intermediary between the lord and the ra-yses over a large area."[83] I believe such a position required enough ease with Muslims and their culture, as well as their language, to enter their villages and discuss their concerns, and mediate those concerns with Frankish lords. In 1254, for instance, the villagers of Kafr Kanna took oaths of fealty to the Master of the Hospitallers, with a *dragoman* acting as an interpreter, indicating that some, if not all, were able to do so.[84] Many of the *dragomans* were also native-born, with Latin or Latinized names in the records, probably involved with mat-ters of finance and taxes.[85]

Interpreters were not restricted to oral translations or casual mediation, but also worked as formal scribes; Riley-Smith cites a treatise on laws in Acre which calls for a sentence of execution for either a Saracen or Frankish scribe convicted

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[81] Joshua Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (New York: Praeger, 1972), 369.

[82] Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility* (see note 79), 53.

[83] Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria," The English Historical Review 87. 342 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972). 1–26; here, 16–17.

[84] Riley-Smith, "Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria" (see note 83), 16–17.

[85] Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility* (see note 79), 56.

of cheating his lord.[86] Not only were educated Saracens in service to lords, they were also equal in punishment to their Christian colleagues. Latins and Arabs both served in the Grand Secrete office of the King of Jerusalem; it is possible that some of these were responsible for translating royal correspondence with Muslim rulers, or handling written treaties mentioned in the sources.[87]

The Teutonic Order also had such men; in addition to the *scriptor sarracenicus* in the Master's household, Houben cites references to a loan agreement between the Order and Agnes, Lady of Scandalion, made in August if 1274, in which one George is called a "scribe of the treasury." Six years later, in April 1280, "George, *scriba in arabico in dicta domo*," in service to the Teutonic knights in Acre, witnessed a second agreement with Agnes's son Joscelin. Her scribe for the original agreement had been named Brahim, probably, Houben argues, an Arab as well.[88]

While the evidence speaks even less of these men's origins than their duties, such roles would suit the descendants of mixed marriages admirably; born into the liminal space between cultures and languages, their linguistic skills would have been as useful as their blood ties to both communities.

Multilingual Documents

1 MS Paris BnF copte 43[89]

In the last thirteen pages of a Coptic "lexicographic treatise," *al-Sullam al-Ḥāwī,* ("The Comprehensive Ladder"), part of a larger genre of Coptic-Arabic linguistic dictionaries, is a phrasebook in which Old French words and phrases, written in Coptic script, are provided Arabic counterparts. Its existence points to an Old French-Arabic bilingualism, perhaps with a Coptic trilingualism, since the book "seems" intended for Coptic travelers to Francophone areas.[90]

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86 Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility* (see note 79) 55, "Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria" (see note 83), 20.

87 For references to correspondence, see Ibn al-Qalānisī (see note 13), *Mudhayyal Tārīkh Dimashq* (see note 13), 93, 106, 109, 147; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-tārīkh* [The Complete History] (see note 58), Part 2, 22; for treaties, Ibn al-Qalānisī (13), 92, 113.

88 Houben (see note 47), 145–46.

89 The discussion here is extremely brief; those interested in the technical linguistic details should consult Aslanov's work. Even for those without a linguistic background, *Evidence of Francophony* provides a complete English translation of the phrasebook, and the choice of words and phrases included deserves a study of its own.

90 Aslanov, *Evidence of Francophony* (see note 2), 3; id., "Languages in Contact in the Latin East: Acre and Cyprus," *Crusades* 1 (2002): 155–181; here, 158.

Aslanov, a historical linguist, uses the Old French phonology from the phrasebook and other surviving sources of Levantine French to determine that while a number of Arabic terms made their way into Levantine French, along with some phonological tics, a mixed Arabic-Romance *patois* did not develop.[91] However, he finds "strong Italo-Romance influences on the level of phonetics and lexicon," suggesting "at least" bilingualism between French and Italian dialects.[92] Particularly in trading cities like Acre, and border regions where language contact was constant, multilingualism between French, Arabic, Italian and Greek was anything but rare.

2 MS Hunt.202

Savage-Smith describes MS Hunt.202 in the Bodleian Library as an Arabic medical manuscript, *al-Kutub al-miʿah fī al-ṣināʾah al-ṭibbīyah* ("The Hundred Books on the Medical Art") by Abū Sahl ʾĪsà ibn Yaḥyà al-Masīḥī, a Christian physician in the late 10th or early 11th century. A popular text among Syrian physicians, she argues one of them might well have recommended it to a Frank asking about Arab medicine, with the writer's faith adding appeal. The manuscript contains annotations in Latin, which "appear to have been added by an unnamed Frankish reader during the crusader period."[93]

Unusually, the Arabic text is fully vocalized, including not only the dots distinguishing otherwise similar consonants like *ba* and *ta*, but also the short vowel, almost never done in non-Qurʾānic manuscripts, which usually contain only the long vowels and consonants. Savage-Smith suggests it was copied this way to assist a reader for whom Arabic was his first language.[94] While it is possible that this codex was specifically commissioned by or for such a reader, I believe it is also possible that such codices were copied for an existing market of them, in which case literate—and technical, probably medical—multilingualism would not have been terribly uncommon.[95] Indeed, the amount of variation

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91 Aslanov, *Evidence of Francophony* (see note 2), 180.

92 Aslanov, *Evidence of Francophony* (see note 2), 175.

93 Savage-Smith, "New Evidence for the Frankish Study of Arabic Medical Texts in the Crusader Period" (see note 3), 99–101.

94 Savage-Smith, "New Evidence for the Frankish Study of Arabic Medical Texts in the Crusader Period" (see note 3), 106.

95 For an introduction to the Arabic book trade, see Konrad Hirschler's excellent *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012). For more details of manuscript production, see Gul-

in *Nota* symbols highlighting specific lines of text, as well as the presence of Latin translations of the Arabic near some but not all of these *Notae*, lead Savage-Smith to argue for multiple Latin readers, "one leaving symbols where another was expected to translate or annotate more fully."[96] Once again, its editor sites the manuscript in Acre, annotated sometime between 1196, mentioned in the colophon, and the city's fall in 1291.

Concluding Remarks

When the Latin Crusader hosts came to the Levant in 1097, they found a multilingual arena in which multilingualism was a fact not only of life but of power and maintaining it. As they settled deeper into local politics, Latin leaders became less reliant on their allies for interpreters, instead gathering trustworthy polyglots for their own households. Generations born in the Latin Levant were born into multilingualism as well, with royally-connected Latins speaking Arabic as well as Romance languages. With the crushing loss of Jerusalem, however, these polyglots lost much of their agency, reduced to interpreters and intermediaries for the western leaders of the Third Crusade; with a western invasion came western linguistic domination, with Eastern connections of multilingualism and power weakened.

   As long as there were Franks in the Levant, however, they were multilingual; during the heyday of the Latin states, Arabic-speaking clerks were involved in commerce and law, while Frankish-Arabic *dragomans* negotiated between Muslim or Syrian Christian tenants and Latin landowners. Even in the thirteenth century, as the Latins clung to Acre as their last outpost on the Levantine littoral, French-Arabic phrasebooks were copied, and Latin physicians read Arabic medical texts. In commerce, Crusade, and culture, power remained with those who commanded multiple languages, in themselves or their subordinates.

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nar Bosch, John Carswell, and Guy Petherbridge, *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking: A Catalogue of an Expedition* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute Museum, the University of Chicago, 1981). **96** Savage-Smith, "New Evidence for the Frankish Study of Arabic Medical Texts in the Crusader Period" (see note 3), 105.

Susanna Niiranen (University of Jyväskylä, Finland)

Apothecary's Art as a Contact Zone in Late Medieval Southern France

In an era of globalization and multiculturalism, the phenomenon of multilingualism has received an increasing amount of scholarly attention in recent years.[1] The same goes for those medieval studies which have explored multilingualism in spiritual, literary, professional, or in other contexts. Additionally, geographical or linguistic areas and the relations of these different factors to each other are investigated.[2] There is, however, conflicting evidence about the medi-

1 Among the most recent and most widely published studies is: Marilyn Martin-Jones, *Routledge Handbook of Multilingualism,* ed. Adrian Blackledge and Angela Creese (London: Routledge, 2012); *International Journal of Multilingualism*, Routledge, since 2004. See also the EU Internet Handbook on multilingualism online at: http://ec.europa.eu/ipg/content/multilingualism/ index_en.htm (last accessed on Oct. 6, 2015). A more insightful view is provided by Adrian Blackledge and Angela Creese, *Multilingualism: A Critical Perspective* (New York: Continuum, 2010), who examine issues such as nationalism, heritage, culture, identity, negotiation, ideology, and power.

2 Johannes Niehoff, "Polyglottes Mittelalter. Mediterrane Volksreligion und christlicher Rahmenbezug in den Übersetzungen von Kalila wa-Dimna," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 30.2 (1995): 77 – 97; Yvonne Cazal, *Voix du peuple/Verbum Dei* (Geneva: Droz, 1998); *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain,* ed. David A.Trotter (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000); *Aspects of Multilingualism in European Language History,* ed. Kurt Braunmüller and Gisella Ferraresi. Hamburg Studies on Multilingualism, 2 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2003); *Le Plurilinguisme au Moyen Âge, Orient-Occident, de Babel à la langue une*, ed. Claire Kappler and Suzanne Thiolier-Méjean (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008); Catherine E. Léglu, *Multilingualism and Mother Tongue in Medieval French**, *Occitan, and Catalan Narratives*. Penn State Romance Studies. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010); *Medieval Multilingualism: The Francophone World and Its Neighbours*, ed. Christopher Kleinhenz and Keith Busby. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); *Mehrsprachigkeit im Mittelalter: kulturelle, literarische, sprachliche und didaktische Konstellationen in europäischer Perspektive; mit Fallstudien zu den "Disticha Catonis"*, ed. Michael Baldzuhn and Christine Putzo (Berlin, Göttingen, and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011); Benoît Grévin, *Le parchemin des cieux: essai sur le Moyen âge du langage* (Paris: Seuil, 2012); Jonathan Hsy, *Trading Tongues: Merchants**, *Multilingualism, and Medieval Literature*. Interventions: New Studies in Medieval Culture (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 2013); Albrecht Clas-

eval awareness of multilingualism, of the relationships between languages, and of the occurrence of language change as well as of the concepts used in researching these phenomena.[3] Nevertheless, medieval sources offer evidence at large confirming how much familiarity with at least one, if not two or more, foreign languages was quite common in that age. This information contributes to my article, which sets out to investigate medieval multilingualism through the late medieval professions of apothecaries and spice-sellers in the region of Avignon.

The area as well as its larger surroundings in Provence and Languedoc can be regarded as a medieval contact zone[4] due to its geographical and political situation, international trade, pilgrimage routes, universities, and diverse cultural traditions. Particularly, the art of healing flourished there because of the strong Salernitan tradition, influences from the Arabic culture of southern Spain, the Jewish presence as well as the success of the medical faculty of Montpellier. Moreover, Mediterranean nature is one of the areas with the greatest botanical diversity on the planet. Aromatic and medicinal plants are widespread throughout the Mediterranean region, being dominant elements of the natural flora. Since ancient times they have been utilized by local inhabitants in the domestic and commercial production of consumable items such as beverages, confectionery, and foods as well as medicines.[5] Medicines and their producers are one of the elements related to the broad field of healthcare; as important aspects situated between medical knowledge, local cultures, and practical skills, they both provide a fruitful object of study when examining medieval multilingualism.

The investigation of a contact zone, which allows the intermingling of two or more cultures, is often done by analyzing clashes and struggle related to cultural or political hegemony. According to Mary Louise Pratt's definition, contact zones are "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often

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sen, "Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: The Literary-Historical Evidence," *Neophilologus* 97 (2013): 131–45.

3 See the CFP of the conference *Medieval Multilingualism in the British Isles*, July 21st, 2012, http://call-for-papers.sas.upenn.edu/node/44172 (last accessed on Oct. 6, 2015); Tony Hunt lists rivalling concepts, such as bi-dialectilism, bilingualism, diglossia, borrowing, transfers, interference, shift, relexicalization, code-switching, code-mixing, tag-switching, intersentential switching, and intrasentential switching. Tony Hunt, "Code-Switching in Medical Texts," *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain,* ed. David A. Trotter (see note 2), 131–47; here 131.

4 On the concept of contact zone in the medieval context, see Hsy, *Trading Tongues* (see note 2), 1–5.

5 María de los Reyes González-Tejero, Manuel Casares-Porcel et al., "Medicinal Plants in the Mediterranean Area: Synthesis of the Results of the Project Rubia," *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 116 (2008): 341–57; here 341.

in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today."[6] More than analyzing clashes of peoples and languages through cross-cultural encounters or social conflicts, this article focuses on contact zone as an arena of interaction and exchange. The aim is to give a comprehensive overview of the quite varied historical and social circumstances under which multilingualism existed in the Mediterranean coastal stretch of a larger linguistic area frequently called *Occitania*. It exemplifies the multilingualism of pharmaceutical terminology, e.g., by analyzing different names attributed to ancestors of modern pharmacists as well as code-switching in their texts.

Pharmacists' multilingualism is a long-term phenomenon, since medical language in Western medicine (including countries such as China and Japan which practice "Western" medicine along with their traditional healing modes) is still largely based on Latin vocabulary, although English is gradually taking over this position, and national languages have also been favored in some countries. Nonetheless, more or less globally, medical studies comprise medical Latin terminology, which is often divided into three dimensions: anatomical, clinical, and pharmaceutical,[7] and in many countries, such as Finland, medical practitioners still make their diagnosis in "Latin,"[8] and therefore, pharmacists have to be able to recognize both the diagnosis and the prescribed medicine, which are also often derived from languages other than the two national languages, Finnish and Swedish. The use of medical language by health professionals can be seen as a source of problems for patients, when they do not fully comprehend their diagnostic and treatment plan.[9]

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6 Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Profession* 91 (1991): 33 – 40.

7 See, for instance, the online course and the digital textbook *Latin and Fundamentals of Medical Terminology*, which introduces medical students in Belarus to Latin and Greek medical terms. The course does not restrict itself to the level of vocabulary, but aims to allow the learner to "achieve an active command of basic grammatical phenomena as well as the system of the language and on the specific character of medical terminology, and that to the extent that enables an active use of Latin and Greek medical terms and promote further own work with them," http://www.grsmu.by/files/university/cafedry/inostrannuh-yazukov/files/latinskiy/uch_pos/4.pdf (last accessed on Oct. 6, 2015).

8 Medical Latin can represent "pure" classical or medieval Latin, but the terminology is in practice often derived or compiled from Latin and Greek, or other languages such as Arabic. Today, English is increasingly used, especially for new terms.

9 See a letter to the editor in the largest subscription newspaper in Finland and the Nordic countries, "Potilas joutuu olemaan tulkkina," [Patient as the interpreter] *Helsingin Sanomat*,

The skill of the medieval spice-seller or apothecary lay in his knowledge of plants, his (or her) ability to compound and dispense medicines and remedies, as well as his/her willingness to treat the sick from different social groups based upon class, gender, and religion. In the hierarchy of medieval practitioners these individuals did not occupy the highest place, which was reserved for university graduates in medicine. In many regions, especially in rural environments, university graduates were a rarity before the fifteenth century, which created an open medical marketplace. One measure of intellectual but also social demarcation was literacy. Latin literacy was possessed by those who were university trained but was equally commanded by several other skilled medical and surgical practitioners.[10] The most conspicuous evidence of their occupation, vernacular medical recipes, shows that multilingualism was customary among medieval medical practitioners, including early apothecaries and other merchants of medicinal substances, such as spice-sellers. In this article, I will enlarge these perspectives by focusing on the relationship of Latin and Occitan speakers in their professional communication, questioning: Which characteristics shaped apothecaries' and spice-sellers' use of different languages? Are there any special features in the region of Avignon, which was, on the one hand, the cradle of vernacularization with the troubadours and the large use of the Occitan language and, on the other, was situated in the vicinity of the international medical center, Montpellier and the flourishing spice trade in local ports and fairs such as Montpellier, Marseille, and Beaucaire. The arrival of the papal court in Avignon in 1309, where it remained until 1378, is also not without significance in our context.

The multilingualism of these professionals will be investigated through written sources which consist of medical recipes, apothecary inventories, account books, and notes. The corpus does not pretend to be inclusive, but it provides a relevant sample of the use of languages in their professional, everyday life. The aim is to provide an account of apothecaries' and spice-sellers' contact situations in Avignon especially from a historical point of view. This requires an investigation of the phenomenon, multilingualism, in close relationship with the historical situation and its premises. Human communication consists not only of the mentally represented language system but also of other cognitive systems

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Jan. 15 2014, B17. http://www.hs.fi/mielipide/Potilas+joutuu+olemaan+tulkkina/a138717709 1446 (last accessed on Oct. 6, 2015).

10 Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 20.

and knowledge of the world.[11] In this sense, it is more fruitful to study the *use* of language than the *system* of language. Related to the problematic of use and system, the usual challenge the researcher encounters in a historical context is the multifarious relationship of written and spoken language. One has to be aware of the fact that written material—which is generally the only one available—is not necessarily the reproduction of oral communication.[12] In this study, the starting point is that these written records can provide an interesting perspective on the complex picture of multilingualism, for medieval medicine was both a learned university discipline, with ties to natural philosophy, and an occupation involving practical skills, and in this respect also open to women. Therefore, the hypothesis is that the written language of these sources gives access, in patches at least, to the spoken languages and vice versa.[13]

What is more, high and late medieval apothecaries and spice-sellers did not constitute a homogenous group but represented different backgrounds and social standings depending on factors such as birth, origin, sex, education, size and type of business, and religion, for instance. A modest spice-seller in his or her booth was not necessarily very familiar with learned, Latin writings containing contemporary natural philosophy but certainly knew some of its widespread conceptions related to healing, such as humoral theory or the assumed benefits of his or her best-selling products. At the other extreme of the scale, a university trained apothecary might have sold the same products in addition to the complex, compound medicines with Latin names only he was able to prepare. These groups are treated here together, because particularly in the earlier phase it was difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish the occupations of diverse *apotecarii*, *speciarii*, *piperarii*, *pebrarii*, and *aromatarii* from each other. The development and nature of these professions, also seminal in relation to multilingualism, will be addressed in what follows. After the contextualizing section, examples of multilingualism are analyzed.

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11 Victoria Fromkin, "Linguistics," *Major Trends in Research: 22 Leading Scholars Report on Their Field. The Chronicle of Higher Education* 4 (1985): 12–13; here 13.

12 On the distinctions between system and use as well as on some perspectives on the paradigm of written/spoken language, see Braunmüller and Ferraresi, "Introduction," *Aspects of Multilingualism in European Language History* (see note 2), 1–13; here 4–5.

13 Michael Richter, "Trace Elements of Obliterated Vernacular Languages in Latin Texts," *Spoken and Written Language: Relations between Latin and the Vernacular Languages in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Garrison, Arpad P. Orbán, and Marco Mostert with the assistance of Wolfert S. van Egmond. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 1–9; here 1.

Historical and Linguistic Context in Central-Southern Occitania

The art of healing prospered early in the region. Before 1250, Salerno was the chief source of influence on Western Mediterranean medicine, but in the course of the thirteenth century Montpellier became a center of medical teaching, together with Bologna and Paris. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries many faculties of medicine were situated in the region we nowadays call Southern France: Cahors, Perpignan, Montpellier, Toulouse, and Avignon.[14] In fact, Montpellier was not annexed to the French Crown until 1349. Before, it was jointly administered by the Kingdom of Majorca and the Bishopric of Maguelone.[15] In terms of linguistic landscape it was not French, but characterized by different dialects of Occitan which dominated in the region. As a vernacular, Occitan was not only spoken, but also written, co-existing with or, depending on the situation and on the point of view, competing with Latin, *langue d'oïl*, and to a lesser extent with other languages, such as the language of local Jewish communities, Hebrew, as well as with the languages of the neighboring areas, Catalan and Italian. Although the map of medieval Francophonia includes the British Isles to the north-west and parts of Italy and the Levant to the south-east, it is missing up to a third of modern France. This concerns areas where Occitan was the main vernacular. The hegemonic position of French over the whole hexagon is a result of military and cultural colonization over the course of centuries.[16]

In Montpellier, for instance, the presence of a renowned university added doctors of medicine to the urban elite. The town, known for its herb, spice and dyeing

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[14] The medical school in Montpellier acquired its statutes in 1220. The faculties of law, medicine, and arts were given university status in 1289, see Louis Dulieu, *La médecine à Montpellier*, 1. Le Moyen Age (Avignon: Les Presses Universelles, 1975), 35; The University of Avignon was founded in 1303; see Victorin Laval, *Histoire de la Facultê de médecine d'Avignon: ses origines, son organisation & son enseignement (1303 – 1791)* (Avignon: Seguin frères, 1889), 13; see now the contributions to *L' Université d'Avignon: naissance & renaissance; 1303 – 2003*, ed. Brigitte Bénézet (Arles: Actes Sud; 2003).

[15] Cornelius O'Boyle, *The Art of Medicine: Medical Teaching at the University of Paris, 1250 – 1400.* Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 9 (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill 1998), 36.

[16] Ad Putter and Keith Busby, "Introduction. Medieval Francophonia," *Medieval Multilingualism* (see note 2), 1 – 13; here 7 – 8; Andrew Roach, "Occitania Past and Present: Southern Consciousness in Medieval and Modern French Politics," *History Workshop Journal* 43 (1997): 1 – 22; here 2 – 3.

trades, attracted merchants, artisans, pepperers, spice-sellers, apothecaries, various healers, and other occupations closely related to the practices of medicine, as well as their young apprentices from the surrounding areas. It is known that Montpellier apothecaries received their apprentices principally from the little towns and villages of Languedoc. Before the plague, in the thirteenth century it comprised 50 000 habitants.[17]

In the medical works of local authors (such as Bernard de Provence and Raimon d'Avignon in the twelfth century, Bernard de Gordon around 1300, and Guy de Chauliac in the middle of the fourteenth century), the emphasis is on practical subjects finding support for the dominant influence of the Constantine corpus[18] and the Salernitan spirit.[19] This is in contrast to the writings of Arnaud de Villanova, for instance, which in turn can be regarded as representatives of theoretical medicine. Practical medical ideas on dietetics and remedies were widely diffused by works such as *Circa instans* and *Antidotarium Nicolai*, which were translated into various vernaculars.[20] They include recipes of complex compound medicines, while many anonymous recipe collections include mainly simple medicines, *simplicia,* based often on one single plant or, at least, few ingredients or methods. This typical approach associated with recipes has also been called *experimenta* or *empirica*. According to Danielle Jacquart, these *empiriques* were mostly lay healers in the countryside. Among them there were priests, clerks, notaries, artisans (textile artisans, in particular), itinerant drink sellers, pepperers and herbalists.[21]

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17 Kathryn L. Reyerson, "Patterns of Population Attraction and Mobility: the Case of Montpellier, 1293–1348," *Viator* 10 (1979): 257–81; here 265–73; Jean-Pierre Bénézet, "Apothecaires et pharmaciens entre mobilité et sédentarité," *Revue d'histoire de la pharmacie* 86. 320 (1998): 397–406; here 398–99; Louis Irissou, "Un contrat d'apprentissage pour le métier d'apothicaire conclu à Montpellier à la fin du XIIIe siècle," *Revue d'histoire de la pharmacie* 35.118 (1947): 218–20; here 218.

18 The Constantine corpus owes its name to the work of Constantine the African (ca. 1020–1087) who translated authors of Arabic medicine into Latin; see *Constantine the African and Alī Ibn Al-ʿAbbās Al-Maǧūsī*, ed. Charles S. F. Burnett and Danielle Jacquart. The Pantegni and Related Texts (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

19 See, e. g., Salvatore de Renzi, *Storia Documentata della Scuola Medica di Salerno* (Naples: Nobile, 1857), 229–56; Iolanda Ventura,"Un manuale di farmacologia medievale ed i suoi lettori," *La Scuola Medica Salernitana. Gli autori e i testi*, ed. Danielle Jacquart and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence: Sismel Galluzzo, 2007), 465–534; here 466.

20 The *Circa instans* was one of the most significant, used and diffused works of the *Scuola Medica Salernitana*, Ventura, "Un manuale di farmacologia medievale" (see note 20), 366.

21 Danielle Jacquart, *Le milieu médical en France du XIIe au XVe siècle. En annexe 2e supplément au "Dictionnaire" d'Ernest Wickersheimer*. Hautes Études Médiévales et Modernes, 46 (Geneva: Droz; Paris: Champion, 1981), 44–6.

The ports and the spice trade were of paramount importance for the increasing wealth, interaction, and mobility within the region. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the position of Montpellier as a merchant republic was comparable with late-medieval cities in Northern Italy and Flanders with their vibrant economic activity and urban life.[22] In coastal cities, the international trade was largely in the hands of Italians.[23] Nonetheless, the medieval commercial revolution was enabled by the opening of the Mediterranean trading area, for in the eleventh century the Muslim hold was broken on the eastern Mediterranean, and the First Crusade revived exchange with the Near East. Arab vessels brought goods from the East and with them merchants on their way to the markets of Europe, often via Egypt and the Maghreb. Gradually, the merchants of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa monopolized the spice trade and transported the goods to Italy.

In the Western Mediterranean the primary ports, both for trade and crusaders, were Montpellier and Marseilles. The easiest route north from the Mediterranean was via Marseilles and up the Rhone valley. New routes were developed during the fourteenth century, which reduced the business of the Rhone valley route and the famous fairs of Champagne. [24]

Not as large and well-known as the fairs of Champagne, the Beaucaire river port and fair in Provence attracted many merchants from a wide area for more than six centuries (from 1217 until the coming of the railroad in the nineteenth century). Especially in the development of pharmacy the Beaucaire fair played a crucial role supplying medicinal ingredients to local agents.[25] International fairs enabled merchants coming from distant regions to meet one another in easily accessible places and to enjoy special protection from the local authorities. At this time, fairs were significant international trading nodes in Western

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22 Irissou, "Un contrat d'apprentissage" (see note 17), 218; Archibald R. Lewis, *Medieval Society in Southern France and Catalonia*. Collected Studies, 197 (London: Variorum Reprints 1984), 77 – 79.

23 Philippe Martel, "Naissance de l'Occitanie," *Histoire d'Occitanie*, ed. André Armengaud and Robert Lafont. (Paris: Hachette, 1979), 139 – 255; here 192 – 95.

24 Robert S. Lopez, Irving W. Raymond, and Olivia Remie Constable, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents* (1955; New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 108.

25 Pierre Léon, "Vie et mort d'un grand marché international. La foire de Beaucaire (XVIIIe-XIXe siècles)," *Revue de géographie de Lyon*. 28.4 (1953): 309 – 28; Odette Callamand, "Le rôle éminent de la foire de Beaucaire dans l'histoire de la pharmacie en Provence," *Revue d'histoire de la pharmacie* 241 (1979): 112 – 17.

Europe.[26] As previously shown in many studies, trade is often also indirectly intertwined with medieval multilingualism in other areas than trade itself.[27]

Despite the profound nature of political changes in the area during the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, when large areas of Languedoc became part of the French crown, the rise of local universities and trade characterized urban life in the region. The positive development, however, also experienced ruptures. In the fourteenth century, the area was affected by poor harvests, famine, and the plague, which radically diminished the population. Additionally, the Hundred Years' War had its impact, especially in 1340 – 1341. From 1347 to 1350 Europe was devastated by the Black Death. The Provence and the Languedoc were badly affected by the plague as well, even if the estimates of the number of victims differ in contemporary reports. Possibly, all of the doctors of the university medical corps in Montpellier died during the plague epidemic around 1348.[28] According to one eye-witness, half of the population of Avignon died. We know that six cardinals and ninety-three officials, who represented 14 percent of the curial personnel, met their end during the epidemic. In the summer of 1361 the plague returned to ravage Avignon and its surroundings once more.[29]

As the plague swept across Europe, the Jews were accused of both planting and spreading the disease. The first massacres directly related to the plague took place in April 1348 in Toulon. Before and after the plague, Jewish doctors in Christian societies occupied a variety of positions and functioned in a variety of social roles. Some served at courts, others were hired by monasteries or municipalities and others catered to private patients. There were significant Jewish communities in and around cities such as Arles, Avignon, Marseilles, Montpellier, and Perpignan. Jews were accepted as doctors and surgeons, administering not only to other Jews but to Christians as well. In many towns, the number of

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26 Sheilagh Ogilvie, *Institutions and European Trade: Merchant Guilds, 1000 – 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 241.

27 E.g., on the international medieval shipping lexis, see David Trotter, "Oceano Vox: You Never Know Where a Ship Comes from: On Multilingualism and Language-Mixing in Medieval Britain," *Aspects of Multilingualism in European Language History*, ed. Kurt Braunmüller and Gisella Ferraresi, 2003 (see note 2), 15 – 33.

28 Reyerson, "Patterns of Population Attraction and Mobility" (see note 17), 76.

29 Karsten Plöger, *England and the Avignon Popes: The Practice of Diplomacy in Late Medieval Europe* (Legenda: London, 2005), 136 – 137; Andries Welkenhuysen, "La Peste en Avignon (1348) décrite par un témoin oculaire, Louis Sanctus de Beringen," *Pascua mediaevalia*, ed. R. Lievens, Erik Van Mingroot, and Werner Verbeke. *Studies voor Prof. Dr. J. M. De Smet*. Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series I, X (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983), 452 – 92.

Jewish practitioners was relatively high in the late Middle Ages.[30] Jewish physicians generally enjoyed respect in Christian society, but co-existence was not without conflicts, mostly caused by Christian physicians intent on dishonoring their Jewish colleagues.[31]

Nevertheless, the reputation of Hebrew as a language of learning and religion shows in medical recipes written in different languages.[32] Frequent contacts between the Iberian Peninsula and Occitania, together with the Muslim and Jewish presence there, presuppose active collaboration on medical ideas. There were also mutual interactions between Occitan Jewish scholars and their Christian colleagues in the field of translating religious and scientific, including medical, texts. Some Jewish translators and other scholars attended local medical faculties, but their status at the institution was often precarious and dependent on the good will of the chancellor.[33]

The translation activities in Toledo (and in Toulouse) contributed largely to the assimilation of Arabic science and medicine by scholars in the west. Some researchers have underlined the intermittent role of Occitania and Catalonia in the transmission of Graeco-Arabic knowledge. As far as medicine was concerned, it was practical medicine rather than natural philosophy which dominat-

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30 On the Jewish proportion of the medical corpus in Arles in the fifteenth century, see Jean-Pierre Bénézet, "De la comptabilité d'un apothicaire à la vie sanitaire d'une communauté. Un exemple: Arles à la fin du Moyen Age," *Provence historique* 192.48 (1998): 125 – 52; here 128.
31 Ram Ben–Shalom, "The Tibbonides' Heritage and Christian Culture: Provence c.1186– c.1470", *Des Tibbonides à Maïmonide. Rayonnement des juifs andalous en pays d'oc médiéval.* Colloque international Montpellier, 13 – 14 décembre 2004, ed. Danièle Iancu–Agou and Élie Nicolas (Paris: Cerf, 2009), 109 – 19; here 111 – 12; See also J. Shatzmiller, "Contacts et échanges entre savants juifs et chrétiens à Montpellier vers 1300," *Juifs et Judaïsme de Languedoc*, ed. Marie-Hélène Vicaire and Bernhard Blumenkranz Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 12 (Toulouse: É. Privat, 1977): 337 – 44. This could have also inspired vernacular poets such as the Middle High German Wolfram von Eschenbach who was somehow familiar with this situation in the Provence when he composed his Grail romance *Parzival* (ca. 1205); see Albrecht Classen, "Noch einmal zu Wolframs 'spekulativer' Kyôt -Quelle im Licht jüdischer Kultur und Philosophie des zwölften Jahrhunderts," *Studi Medievali* XLVI (2005): 281 – 308.
32 See, e. g., Mark Zier, "The Healing Power of the Hebrew Tongue: An Example from Late Thirteenth Century England," *Health, Disease and Healing in Medieval Culture*, ed. Sheila Campbell (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992); 103 – 18; Susanna Niiranen, "The Authority of Words. The Healing Power of Vernacular, Latin and Other Languages in an Occitan Remedy Collection," *Mirator* 12 (2011): 54 – 75. This is also available online at: http://www.glossa.fi/mirator/pdf/i-2011/theauthorityofwords.pdf (last accessed on Oct. 6, 2015).
33 Joseph Shatzmiller, *Jews, Medicine, and Medieval Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 27 – 31; on the importance of medicine and physicians among the Jewish population, see Albrecht Classen, "Noch einmal zu Wolframs 'spekulativer' Kyot-Quelle" (see note 31).

ed the art of healing in Montpellier. Otherwise, Muslim presence in the region had diminished remarkably already long before the Reconquista. There was, however, intense interaction with Arab merchants and commercial activity between local ports and Pisa, Genoa, Spain, Majorca, Syria, Cyprus, Egypt, Maghreb, and further to the Far East. There Jewish officials called *alfaquims* served as scribes or interpreters for Arabic but also as physicians.[34] Apart from spices and other exotic products, Occitan merchants also traded in 'Saracen' slaves. Slaves were sold to Spain as had been done since the ninth century.[35] The area under focus here was thus a veritable contact zone where different cultures met, as described by a twelfth–century Jewish traveler, Benjamin Tudela:

> Men come for business there from all quarters, from Edom, Ishmael, the land of Algarve, Lombardy, the dominion of Rome the Great, from all the land of Egypt, Palestine, Greece, France, Asia and England. People of all nations are found there doing business through the medium of the Genoese and Pisans.[36]

We do not know exactly which language(s) was used in oral contact situations. In written language, notarial records of these commercial cont(r)acts are mainly in Latin. The local vernacular, Occitan, is a vibrant literary language used notably by the troubadours since the end of the eleventh century, but it was also utilized as a literary religious language as well as increasingly for administrative

34 See, for instance, a commercial contract between an *alfaquim*, who is not described as a Jew but as a "sarracenus Alexandrie" and Bernard de Manduel from Marseille in 1227, which included medicinal and dying products such as *coralli*, *cassalina*, and *aloe cicotrino*, *Documents inédits sur le commerce de Marseille au moyen âge, édités intégralement ou analysés*, vol. I, ed. Louis Blancard (Marseille: Barlatier-Feissat père et fils, 1884–1885), 18; on the concept of alfaquim, see Elka Klein, *Jews, Christian Society, and Royal Power in Medieval Barcelona* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 83.
35 Linda M. Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours. Medieval Occitan Society, c.1100–c.1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 160–61.
36 *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. Marcus Nathan Adler (1907; New York: P. Feldheim 1965), 3, cited in Paterson, *World of the Troubadours* (see note 36), 160; on Tudela, see, for instance, Joseph Shatzmiller, "Jews, Pilgrimage, and the Christian Cult of Saints: Benjamin of Tudela and His Contemporaries," *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History*, ed. Walter A. Goffart and Alexander C. Murray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1998), 337–347. See now also Albrecht Classen, "Encounters Between East and West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Many Untold Stories About Connections and Contacts, Understanding and Misunderstanding," *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 14 (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 1–222; here 69–71, 73, 75, 78.

and legal purposes in different documents.[37] In Old Occitan texts, it was called by different names, such as *lengua d'oc*, *lengua romana*, *roman*, or even *occitan*. Different dialects became differentiated and of these *proensal* was adopted as the troubadours' language for centuries, although other dialects were also used. Troubadours opposed Occitan to *frances*, which was the *langue du roi* and spoken north of the Loire, roughly speaking.[38] Despite the fact that a few of them had some formal tutoring in Latin, in their poetry *lati* could be a synonym of meaningless, idle talk.[39] Does this reflect the competitive situation of Latin and Occitan? Possibly, but we have to bear in mind that in this case the borderline between a spoken 'L-variety' or vernacular and a written 'H-variety' or a standardized language is shifting.[40]

Apothecaries and Spice-Sellers in a Multilingual Setting

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, a certain Petrus Speciator from Avignon is mentioned in records. Nominations such as *speciarii*, *pebrarii*, *piperarii* (merchants of pepper, pepperers), *aromatarii* (merchants of perfumes), *confectionarii* (confection makers), and *apothecarii* are used in Latin texts but not clearly specified. Among spice-sellers (*speciarii*) it is possible to distinguish three different categories: 1) Pepperers/spice-sellers who practiced wholesale; 2) Spice-sellers-apothecaries who also prepared medicines on their premises. They were usually wealthy and had a good professional reputation; 3) Simple market pepperers/spice-sellers who sold their products in public places.[41] Spice-sellers/apothecaries later formed their own separate category as apothecaries. Their shops contained a broad range of medicines from herbal simples to exotic ingredients and chemical preparations, highlighting the availability of such goods far from large urban centers. Apothecaries and wealthy spice-sellers participated in broad and sophisticated networks of trade with suppliers. Transitions from one group to another were possible, and still in the fifteenth century

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37 Brunel's collection of charters shows how the use of Occitan gradually increases during the twelfth and thirteenth century, Clovis Brunel**,** *Les plus anciennes chartes en langue provençale: Recueil des pièces originales antérieures au XIIIe siècle*, vol. 1 (Geneva: Slatkine, 1973).

38 Paterson, *World of the Troubadours* (see note 35), 3.

39 Léglu, *Multilingualism and Mother Tongue* (see note 2), 11.

40 Braunmüller and Ferraresi, "Introduction," *Aspects of Multilingualism in European Language History* (see note 2), 1–13; here 3.

41 Irissou, "Un contrat d'apprentissage" (see note 17), 218.

simple market pepperers and spice-sellers could become apothecaries.[42] Since spice-sellers-apothecaries often sold fabrics or sheets in addition to medicinal and other products, they could also have been called *draperius* or *mercator* in Latin sources. In Occitan sources, they were more unanimously known as *pebriers*, *especiaires,* or *especiadors.*[43] This has led to the assumption that the vernacular favored nominations, which included the connection with spices, whereas Latin documents as well as practitioners themselves preferred more abstract terms such as *apothecarius.*[44]

In local statutes, those selling medicine were strictly distinguished from persons making up prescriptions (physicians). Moreover, local statutes bound *apothecarii* by a special oath to scrupulously prepare all confections, syrups and electuaries which they will make or sell. Also the quality of medicine and medical substances for sale was regularly controlled.[45] By the fourteenth century, apothecaries enjoyed professional status and established their own guilds, as did locksmiths and barbers. According to inventories, they not only sold medicine, but also paper, candles, soap, and other wares of everyday life. Their shops were concentrated on certain streets and were thus easily controllable.

Apprenticeship was the recognized way of entering a craft and also a method of ensuring proper training. It likewise prevented overcrowding of the trade. The average contract stated the term of years, salary, and general conditions of service of the apprentice and protection of the master. The usual period was between four and seven years, but the duration varied depending on the trade, e.g., an apprenticeship agreement to a barber in Marseille was only for two years (1248) although their training also included some basic medical knowledge. Most barbers combined small surgical operations with performing bloodletting. The barber apprentice was not from the region, but came from the Ligurian coast, near Genoa, which had intense commercial relations including apprentice-

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42 Louis Irissou, *La pharmacie à Montpellier des origines aux statuts de 1572* (Paris: Editions Occitania, 1935), 269 – 70.

43 E.g., Apothecary–spice-seller Peire de Serras uses the term *especiaire* for himself, Paul Meyer, "De quelques mss. de la collection Libri, à Florence," *Romania* 14 (1885): 485 – 548; here 491; Louis Irissou, "La pharmacie à Montpellier avant les statuts de 1572," *Revue d'histoire de la pharmacie* 22.86 (1934): 265 – 305; here 273; http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/pharm_0035-2349_1934_num_22_85_10047 (last accessed on Oct. 6, 2015).

44 Eugène-Humbert Guitard, ""L'éveil de l'officine en Occident (XIIe – XIIIe siécles), chap. III," *Revue d'histoire de la pharmacie.* Supplément au N. 195 (1968): 27 – 42; here 39.

45 On the importance of quality control over merchandise in Montpellier, see Kathryn L. Reyerson, "Commercial Fraud in the Middle Ages: The Case of the Dissembling Pepperer," *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982): 63 – 73; Henri Granel, *Histoire de la pharmacie à Avignon du XIIe siècle à la Révolution: Notes et documents inédits* (Paris: A. Maloine, 1905), 21 – 22.

ships with Midi.[46] In contrast, one of the earliest known apothecary contracts (1293) shows a length of eight years for a young boy from the diocese of Albi.[47] The profession was considered demanding and therefore needed a longer training. The minimum was usually seven years.[48] Apprenticeship could start at a relatively young age, often during the early teens. Among merchants, money changers, drapers, apothecaries, and pepperers drew apprentices to Montpellier from considerable distances, which can be explained by their wide-spread reputation in these fields. Four out of five apothecary contracts concerned newcomers from the diocese of Albi and from the towns of Sarlat, Sisteron and Carpentras.[49] Local statutes recognize female spice-sellers (*speciatrix*), but not regularly. The norm is the masculine form, *speciator*.[50] This suggests that *speciatrix* were plausibly widows or daughters who continued their husband's or father's business. According to the contemporary custom of various craftsmen, this could have been confirmed by marrying or remarrying an apothecary.[51] How many of these female spice-sellers or apothecaries were literate and how many used vernacular or Latin medical texts in their education or practice is obscure. The Jewish physician Mayrona in the small town of Manosque in the early fourteenth century may justifiably have been literate, taking into account the requirements of her contemporaneous profession of money-lender.[52]

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46 *Documents inédits sur le commerce de Marseille au Moyen Age*, vol. II, ed. Louis Blancard (Marseilles: Barlatier-Feissat, Pere et Fils, 1884), 60, reprinted in Roy C. Cave and Herbert H. Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History* (Milwaukee, WI: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1936 [reprint ed. New York: Biblo & Tannen, 1965]), 249; on commercial relations between Liguria and Arles, see Bénézet, "De la comptabilité d'un apothicaire à la vie sanitaire d'une communauté" (see note 30), 138–39.
47 This apprentice contract between a father of the apprentice from a little village in the Pyrenees and an apothecary from Montpellier from the year 1293 is published in Irissou, "Un contrat d'apprentissage" (see note 17), 218–20.
48 Irissou, "La pharmacie à Montpellier avant les statuts de 1572" (see note 43), 284.
49 Reyerson, "Patterns of Population Attraction and Mobility" (see note 17), 272–73.
50 Granel, *Histoire de la pharmacie à Avignon* (see note 45), 24.
51 On the apothecaries' marriage strategies, see Bénézet, "Apothicaires et pharmaciens entre mobilité et sédentarité" (see note 17), 403.
52 Monica H. Green, "Books as a Source of Medical Education for Women in the Middle Ages," *Dynamis: Acta Hispanica ad Medicinae Scientiarumque Historiam Illustrandam* 20 (2000): 331–69; here 333.

The Papacy in Avignon

When popes came to Avignon, Italian apothecaries followed, especially from the Florentine region. The papal official responsible for medicine supplied expensive imported products such as aniseed, amber, cinnamon, cloves, nardus, and sugar. The papal court had to be prepared for the death of the pope and various ingredients for embalming were acquired. Account books show that embalmers used the aromatic herbs and spices recommended in surgical textbooks.[53]

It was the efforts of foreign merchants to found the confraternity of the Aumône de Notre Dame de la Major hospital which attracted spice-sellers to its vicinity. Gradually, loose associations such as confraternities of workers and merchants became guilds, which operated in a more coherent way as a corporation regulating and controlling its craft or merchandise. Although the guild was still existent in the seventeenth century, the medical faculties had largely taken care of controlling the apothecaries since the thirteenth century.

Code-Switching

With Latin being unanimously the language of papal curia and the lay administration, there is practically no code-switching in these sources, whereas in the *Fachliteratur* of medical agents, it is customary, although not a standard. Recipe books, for instance, often contain code-switching, especially if they are written in the vernacular. The languages of Occitan pharmacy in the thirteenth and fourteenth century were primarily Latin and Occitan even though some elements of other languages such as Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic were utilized, but to a much lesser extent. The following is an analysis of multilingual aspects of two medical recipe collections in Occitan. One, anonymous, originates from the region of Bouches-du-Rhône and contains 337 medical recipes including mostly *simplicia*. Since it is missing the first hundred folios and contains only few hints of the possible compiler, the manuscript has been vaguely dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.[54] The other is attributed to a certain Peire de Serras, a spice-sell-

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53 Granel, *Histoire de la pharmacie à Avignon* (see note 45), 29–31.
54 R.14.30, fols. 143v–161r, Trinity College Library, Cambridge; See also, Paul Meyer, "Recettes médicales en provençal," *Romania* 32 (1903): 268–99; Clovis Brunel, "Recettes médicales du XIIIe siècle en langue de Provence," *Romania* 83 (1962): 145–82; Maria Sofia Corradini Bozzi, "Per l'edizione di opera mediche in occitanico e in catalano: un nuovo bilancio della tradizione manoscritta e dei fenomeni linguistici," *Rivista di Studi Testuali* 3 (2001): 127–95; Niiranen,

er–apothecary from the same area, probably Avignon. Peire de Serras's collection is shorter, but clearly addressed to professional, apothecary use.

The manuscript contains diverse texts such as accounts, notes, and pious texts plausibly by the same Peire de Serras. The several dates in the text tell us that it had been compiled in the middle of the fourteenth century.[55] Both collections include code-switching,[56] principally from Occitan to Latin. The matrix-text is in Occitan, but there are also whole recipes written in Latin in addition to shorter passages.

Although the language switches, the hand remains the same in both recipe collections, which implies that the author-compilers were multilingual, at least to a certain level. Of the whole collection of 337 recipes, 26 are written completely in Latin (7, 7 %), whereas in the collection attributed to Peire de Serras five of 95 recipes are in Latin (5, 3 %). In both collections, a whole section of recipes in the beginning of the text is entirely in Latin.

Besides recipes entirely in Latin, code-switching occurs occasionally at both lexical and syntactic level. Concerning syntactic switched units, three patterns appear: intersentential switches, tag-switches, and intrasentential switches.[57] Intersentential switches are switches between sentences or independent clauses. "Si encontrava bela femna, bel efant feme aura. *Et oc custodiunt saraceni.*"[58] The actual recipe preceding the final Latin utterance at the end relates that if

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"Authority of Words," 54 – 75 (see note 32); eadem, "Mental Disorders in Remedy Collections: A Comparison of Occitan and Swedish Material," *Mental (Dis)order in the Late Middle Ages.* Later Medieval Europe 12 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 151 – 76; here 160.

55 The original manuscript is currently housed in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Fondo Ashburnham Ms. 105ab, but I have used the following editions: Paul Meyer, "De quelques mss. de la collection Libri" (see note 43); Clovis Brunel, "Recettes pharmaceutiques d'Avignon en ancien provençal," *Romania* 87 (1966): 505 – 42; see also, Maria Sofia Corradini Bozzi, "La *Fachliteratur* occitanica: i codici di argomento medico–farmaceutico," *La Filologia romanza e i codici (atti del convegno, Messina 19 – 22 dicembre 1991)* ed. Saverio Guida and Fortunata Latella, vol. 2 (Messina: Sicania,1993), 731 – 42.

56 The term code–switching denotes the concurrent use of two or several languages in a single communicative episode. Patterns of code alternation are closely linked to their larger social context. The term has also been applied in a medieval context, see Päivi Pahta, "Code–Switching in Medieval Medical Writing," *Medical and Scientific Writing in Late Medieval English*, ed. Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta. Studies in English Language (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 73 – 99; Hunt, "Code-Switching in Medical Texts" (see note 3), 131 – 47.

57 On the linguistic aspects in historical code-switching, see Herbert Schendl, "Linguistic Aspects of Code-Switching in Medieval English Texts," *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain* (see note 2), 77 – 92; here 87 – 88.

58 Cambridge, Trinity College Library, Ms. R. 14.30, fol. 160r; Brunel, "Recettes médicales" (see note 54), 173.

a pregnant woman first meets a beautiful woman, the baby will be beautiful, too. Without any specific arguments, Brunel identifies *saraceni* as gypsies and not as Arabs, probably on the grounds of their assumed taste for necromancy.[59] The other possible reason might be the fact that a place of pilgrimage frequented later by gypsies, Saintes-Maries de la Mer, is mentioned in another recipe in the previous folio leaf.[60]

It seems that the prognostication skills were approved in the community of the compiler. This kind of mention can give an international and learned air to the collection. Its purpose might also be associated with the expected curiosity of the audience or with an interest in making observations of a 'folkloric' and 'anthropological' nature and writing them down for a larger audience.[61]

Intrasentential switches can be defined as shifts between or within constituents of a sentence, involving dependent clauses as in the following recipe "for sobering up whenever you like": "*Ut inebries hominem* quant ti volras."[62] In fact, it is conventional that Latin names of diseases or medical conditions introduce the recipe. Another example is a recipe for giving birth, which includes the Latin name at the beginning as well as an intrasentential switch: *"Ut mulier filium.* Escrieu aquestas caractas en carta e lia al col de lui *cum uno filo* de li"[63] (For a woman, who is giving birth. Write these letters on paper and hang it around her neck with a linen string).

In tag-switching either a tag phrase or a word, or both, is switched from one language to another. Latin, written conventions such as *item,* which occurs introducing successive vernacular recipes for the same disease or condition, or the utterance *hoc probatum est* (this has been proved) indicating the empirical efficacy of the medicine.

Unsurprisingly, code-switching into Latin is evident in religious, Christian discourse. In medical recipes, Christian language is scattered here and there in the form of snippets of prayers, blessings, conjurations, and holy names, often found in healing charms or textual amulets.[64] Textual amulets were short protec-

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59 David Abulafia, "The Coming of the Gypsies: Cities, Princes and Nomads," *Power and Persuasion: Essays on the Art of State Building in Honour of W.P. Blockmans*, ed. Peter Hoppenbrouwers, Antheun Janse, Robert Stein, and Willem P. Blockmans (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 325 – 42.
60 See "Sancta Maria de la Mar," Cambridge, Trinity College Library, fol. 159v.
61 On the medieval 'antiquarian', 'anthropologic' or even 'folkloric' interest in the Old English Lacnunga–collection, see Debby Banham, "Attribution and Authority in Old English Medical Texts," *Social History of Medicine* 24 (2011): 57 – 73; here 60 – 61
62 Cambridge, Trinity College Library, Ms. R. 14.30, fol.158r.
63 Cambridge, Trinity Library College, Ms. R.14.30 fol. 147r.
64 On textual amulets, Donald C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006); on the textual amulets of

tive texts written on parchment, paper, or other blank surfaces and worn on the body, usually around the neck, as above in the example for a delivering woman. They were thought to help, protect, and heal, and to bring the wearer good fortune.

Textual amulets were often produced by the lesser clergy who were literate enough and who had pieces of paper or parchment at their disposal. If paper or parchment was not available, appropriate materials were found in the everyday environment as in a recipe for a baby who refuses to breastfeed. The advice for curing the condition is a textual amulet made of olive leaves.

> Si aves enfan que non vuelha tetar la bayla, pren .iij. fuelhas d'olivier e scrives de sus: *Benedictum sis* [sic] *nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Amen.* Et escrives lo nom de la bayla e de l'enfan, e la bayla ho mange.[65]

> [If you have an infant who does not want to suckle from the nurse's breast, take three leaves of an olive tree and write on them: *Benedictum sis* [sic] *nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Amen.* And write also the names of the nurse and the baby, and the nurse eat the leaves.]

In this kind of "self-made" amulets, the amulet is thus not meant to be worn *on* the body, but *in* the body. The consumption of the textual amulet (olive leaves) as medicine might reinforce the amulet's effectiveness over the patient through ingestion. This is interesting since apothecaries or spice-sellers did not usually market olive leaves, a part of native Mediterranean trees, which were relatively easily available for everyone. Did they sell this kind of advice or did they give it in addition to medicinal prescriptions? It has been shown that the use of Latin phrases, liturgical fragments, as well as marking gestural crosses points to the lesser clergy creating amulets for their parishioners.[66] However, it seems that also spice-sellers and apothecaries, if not produce, then at least maintained the tradition of textual amulets by copying and transmitting them.

Given that some command of Latin was included in the studies of late-medieval apothecaries, it is not excluded that they were capable of producing them. Apothecary/spice-seller Peire Serras, who is the autographer at least of this pas-

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this recipe collection, see Susanna Niiranen, "At the Crossroads of Religion, Magic, Science and Written Culture. The Role of Textual Amulets in Medieval Healing," *Mental Health, Spirituality, and Religion in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 15 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), 290–313.

65 Meyer, "De quelques mss. de la collection Libri" (see note 43), 491.

66 Skemer, "Textual Amulets" (see note 64), 22, 40; Niiranen, "At the Crossroads of Religion, Magic, Science and Written Culture" (see note 64).

sage if not of the whole manuscript—he begins the passage referring to himself "Remembransa cie que yeu Peyre de Serras" (Remember that I, Peire de Serras)—possibly had a personal interest in the nursing relationship between the nurse and the child. In his notes he tells that he had given his "little daughter" Catarina into the care of the nurse.[67]

We don't know the educational background of Peire de Serras, but it seems that he had studied Latin. His Latin was far from perfect, but undoubtedly sufficient for professional purposes. The expectation of 'perfect' (whatever that may mean in detail) command of a language appears to be quite a modern idea when discussing matters of bilingualism or multilingualism in general. Diglossia as the functional distribution between a vernacular and an academic language was a natural part of everyday life and guaranteed that one could master the various domains of work without greater problems. This was even a matter of life and death in the profession of Peire de Serras.

In his collection of circa 100 recipes, a quarter derives from a known recipe collection called *Antidotarium Nicolai*.[68] The names of compound substances (e. g., *trifera magna*, *unguentum populeon*, *emplastrum terebentina*) which introduce each item, are for the most part left in their Latin form. Ingredients and preparations follow in Occitan with few code-switchings compared with the other remedy collection under examination, which includes them more abundantly.

Besides the names of compound substances, Peire de Serras switches into Latin when writing some individual items, names of medicinal ingredients (e. g., *cardamomum*, *storax*), and idioms mainly from Christian discourse such as *Hoc est mirabilia*, *Deo gracias. Amen*. The early editors Meyer and Brunel have somewhat harshly evaluated his written Latin as mediocre or even bad. In their eyes, his command of written Occitan does not deserve any better rating. Indeed, he does not seem to bother very much with orthography, but one has to bear in mind that at the time there was no such thing as a standardized Occitan language. Therefore, the language he uses with all its peculiarities, inconsisten-

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67 Meyer, "De quelques mss. de la collection Libri" (see note 43), 540.

68 The text of the *Antidotarium Nicolai* dates from the second quarter of the twelfth century. The bulk of the *Antidotarium Nicolai* derives from the later eleventh-century compilation, the *Antidotarium magnum*. There were various vernacular versions in French, Dutch, Italian, German, English, Hebrew, and, as recently discovered, in Judeo-Arabic; see, e. g., Francesco Roberg, "Studien zum Antidotarium Nicolai anhand der ältesten Handschriften," *Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen* 21 (2002): 73 – 129; Francesco Roberg, "Das Antidotarium Nicolai und der Liber-Antidotarius magnus," *Gesund und krank im Mittelalter*, ed. Andreas Meyer and Jürgen Schulz-Grobert. Marburger Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Medizin (Leipzig: Eudora, 2007), 251 – 68.

cies, and dialectical marks, might reflect some characteristics of the spoken language of his home-region in the middle of the thirteenth century.[69]

Latin was not only the written, universal language of medicine, since it was sometimes used as *lingua franca* if there was no other common language. An apprentice from Basel, for instance, worked in an apothecary in Montpellier "without using the local language".[70] Was it Latin he utilized in his everyday life as an apprentice of an apothecary? In that case, the epistemological asymmetry and traditional borderline, which often lies between 'written Latin' and 'spoken vernacular' is blurred. Moreover, what is the role of spoken language or oral tradition in 'apothecary's art' and related fields? There seems to be some sort of connection between popular medical texts and oral tradition, or at least, there are distinguishable traits of orality.[71] One characteristic is the use of the second person singular ('take', 'boil', 'add', 'write', etc.), which signals the virtual presence of addresser and addressee as participants in discourse.[72] Features like formality of expression, repetition, virtual interconnectedness of issues, and concreteness instead of abstraction are common in oral discourses as well as in recipes. In addition, familiarity both in themes and in interaction is favored in orality. In recipes, themes such as drunkenness, sexuality as well as various ailments and inconveniences related to the most intimate aspects of human life are treated in such a familiar way to cause perplexity among later generations.[73] Few recipes are mutilated and partly obliterated, possibly because their character was regarded as superstitious.[74]

Apart from religious discourse, code-switching from Occitan to Latin is used on special occasions, which occurs primarily in lexical level. Firstly, in certain written conventions (*hoc* or *oc probatum est*, *item*), secondly, in medical and anatomical terms (for example, *impetigo, paralisis, veretrum*) and thirdly in pharmaceut-

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69 Meyer, "De quelques mss. de la collection Libri," (see note 43), 544–47.

70 Louis Dulieu, *La Pharmacie à Montpellier à travers les siècles* (Avignon: Les Presses Universelles, 1973), 238.

71 See, Elena Quintana–Toledo, "Orality in the Middle English Medical Recipes of G. U. L. Hunter 185," *Textual Healing. Studies in Medieval English Medical, Scientific and Technical Texts*, ed. Javier E. Díaz Vera and Rosario Caballero. Linguistic Insights, 101 (Bern, Brussels, et al.: Peter Lang, 2009), 153–75.

72 Quintana–Toledo, "Orality in the Middle English Medical Recipes" (see note 71), 173.

73 E.g., Meyer, who sees no need to translate certain expressions, such as *postairol* (posterior). However, he explains that it is not found in dictionaries: "*Postairol* se comprend aisément, quoique non relevé dans les dictionnaires", Meyer "Recettes médicales" (see note 54), 297, fn. 2.

74 See, e.g., a recipe for love magic, *Si vols eser amatz per femena* (If you like to be loved by a woman) R.14.30, 159r; see also Brunel "Recettes médicales" (see note 54), 146, fn. 1.

ical terms such as *argentum vivum, ungentum.* Fourthly, botanical names, whether plants, herbs or spices, form the core of the Latin pharmaceutical terminology in recipes. It is understandable that imported spices (*cardamomum, gingiber, nux muscata*, etc.) or special healing stones (*lapis armenius, lapis lazuli*) are called by their Latin or other foreign names, but also many ordinary plant names such as dill, mugwort, milfoil, leek, and sage *(anetum, artemisia, millefolium, porrum, sagium)* are mentioned by their Latin names. These are common plants, and in the Middle Ages they were well-known and frequently used for medical or flavoring purposes. The medical writers had established vernacular names and there was no danger of confusing them with plants with toxic effects. The use of Latin nomenclature had become part of the medical textual tradition, but since it is not regular, it is possible that the practitioners of herbal medicine liked the flair of Latin when they referred to those plants in order to enhance their own status as learned people.

Botanical Latin derives from the Latin of those Roman authors writing about plants, notably Pliny the Elder, although there existed an extensive vocabulary of herbalist jargon before him. The herb-gatherers or *rhizotomi* of antiquity unquestionably had a certain expertise with plants reputed to have medicinal value. As for the early nomenclature, plant names from the everyday speech of Rome and Magna Graecia were preserved in the works of Pliny the Elder and Pedianos Dioscorides. Their writings indicate the ability to distinguish and recognize a fair number of plants as well as their qualities in healing, but descriptions of their growing habits are seldom associated with an interest in their structure deep enough to make meticulous comparisons and generalizations which yield a scientific terminology for their different parts.

This is not, however, the task of an encyclopedist, herbalist, or physician, which these authors represent, but rather that of a philosopher.[75] Nonetheless, a good deal of vernacular medical writing in the Middle Ages was translated

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75 Pliny the Elder apparently incorporated translations into Latin from Theophrastus in his *Historia naturalis* (compiled in the first century C.E., frequently copied during the Middle Ages, and first printed in 1469 with at least 190 editions between 1469 and 1799). A kind of encyclopedia of its time, the *Historia naturalis* contains abundant inaccuracies, omissions, and phenomena we might call magic or superstition, but it has also been correctly observed that it is "even more valuable as a collection of ancient errors than it is as a repository of ancient science." William T. Stearn, *Botanical Latin. History, Grammar, Syntax, Terminology and Vocabulary* (London and Edinburgh: Nelson, 1966), 14–22.

from Latin, and was very dependent on classical models.[76] It has to be kept in mind that not all medical texts are direct translations from Latin originals and recipe collections in particular do not necessarily have university pedigree. Despite that, certain terms and expressions in vernacular texts are shared with academic tradition, and as such signal an underlying academic text.[77]

On the other hand, there was also an existing nomenclature in Occitan which was not only used in medical writing, but served administrative purposes such as taxation. *Le livre du tarif des gabelles* from 1397 lists 140 medical substances in Occitan.[78] A possible explanation for the use of Latin lies in the influence of Latin recipe collections, in which the use of certain terms and expressions was already fixed.

It cannot be ruled out that the Latin names were preferred for achieving accuracy and terminological unambiguity, as was done from the renaissance period, and as is done even today in many countries in the fields of medicine and pharmacology. This was not done systematically in the Middle Ages, and it has been observed that multiple Latin plant names could refer to the same plant within the same text.[79] Nevertheless, there already existed a long tradition of employing Latin names particularly in the field of botany, as discussed above.[80] One conceivable factor might be the compiler's wish to show his or her knowledge and expertise in the matter, which was supposed to give some prestige and authority to the collection and to the apothecary's work.

Switched specialized terms can also be considered part of professional rhetoric. On the other hand, in addition to indicating membership of a certain group, code-switching can also have an exclusive function in denying access to a group of outsiders, who in this case might consist of the general reader or a person asking for help, the actual patient.

An inventory of the property of an apothecary from Avignon in 1453 uses both Latin and Occitan. The suggested buyer comes from the diocese of Torino. The inventory clearly shows the place occupied by the sale of medicine, spices,

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76 Faye Getz, *Medicine in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 35; Irma Taavitsainen, "Transferring Classical Discourse Conventions into the Vernacular," *Medical and Scientific Writing in Late Medieval English* (see note 56), 37–72.

77 Irma Taavitsainen, "Middle English Recipes: Genre Characteristics, Text Type Features and Underlying Traditions of Writing," *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 2 (2001): 85–113; here 195.

78 Pierre Pansier, "Les Gabelles d'Avignon de 1310 et 1397," *Annales d'Avignon et du Comtat Venaissin* 12 (1926): 37–63.

79 Monica H. Green, *The Trotula. An English Translation of the Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 63.

80 Stearn, *Botanical Latin* (see note 75), 14–26.

and other wares in pharmaceutical commerce. In the light of multilingualism, its use of languages is interesting. The list of medical substances (roots and herbs, spices, minerals such as coral, amber, lapis lazuli), medical products (e. g., bandages, syrups, and unguents), fruits and nuts, and other related wares (e. g., paper, oil, wax) is in Latin, while the list of movables, goods and chattels such as mattress, blanket, mortars, receptacles, and mixing bowls is in Occitan. The Latin list comprised approximately 180 items from pepper and ginger to ready-made drugs such as *olei laurini* or *unguentum populeum et aegyptiacum*.[81]

Bilingualism and code-switching have certainly played a major role in the lexical borrowing and relexification, but the distinction between code-switching and borrowing can be ambiguous, especially when we observe two Romance languages such as Latin and Occitan. There are some easily distinguishable loanwords from French, e. g., *moyson*,[82] which means 'measurement,' but identity and similarity of words make clear assignment often difficult or even impossible. Lexical transfers in the field of technical and general vocabulary are often clearer in languages which are not so close to each other, e. g., it is quite easy to discover that the word *alambic* (alembic) comes from Arabic alchemists, whose works Western scholars read and translated. In Peire de Serras's material, there are some elucidating drawings of *alambics* and the distillation process.[83]

Conclusion

The abundance of medicinal plants growing in nature, the Salernitan healing tradition, the rise of local universities, particularly of Montpellier, scientific translation activities, the papal seat in Avignon, and the region being one of the most important nodes of the international spice trade favored the development of the art of pharmacy in medieval Southern France. In the period covering the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, imported medicinal substances such as spices attained enormous distinction and became "international"—if not even "global" in the medieval meaning of world-traded products—which in

81 Granel, *Histoire de la pharmacie à Avignon* (see note 45), 43–51.

82 Meyer, "De quelques mss. de la collection Libri" (see note 43), 489–90; François Just Marie Raynouard, *Lexique roman ou Dictionnaire de la langue des troubadours, comparée avec les autres langues de l'Europe latine; précédé de nouvelles recherches historiques et philologiques, d'un résumé de la grammaire romane, d'un nouveau choix des poésies originales des troubadours, et d'extraits de poèmes divers* 4/6 (Paris: Silvestre 1842), 280–1.

83 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Fondo Ashburnham, Ms. 105b, fol. 34 in Brunel, "Recettes pharmaceutiques" (see note 55), 522.

turn helped to develop integrated economic networks and contact zones favoring multilingualism as was customary in the field of trade.[84]

Urban professionals like lawyers, merchants, and scribes were capable of shifting between different languages in their writings, due to functional considerations such as adopting a more specific sphere of discourse or addressing or excluding a particular audience. Medieval apothecaries and spice-sellers belong to this group in a busy urban environment, where the so-called primary language, or native vernacular, Occitan, co-existed with professionalized forms of Latin. Social factors and apothecaries' formal education resituated them in a multilingual, mobile world. If one may judge by the substantial practical medical literature in various vernaculars, by the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries a significant community of practitioners appeared, literate primarily in a vernacular, but also in Latin.

The multilingualism of Occitan apothecaries and spice-sellers in written sources was mostly bilingual shifting between vernacular and Latin, an obvious starting point at least among the educated classes in medieval Europe. For medieval agents such as apothecaries and spice-sellers multilingualism seems to be a commonplace even if they cannot all be labelled as 'educated,' meaning a university background. Practical documents related to their profession, the function of which was to record—whether medical recipes, accounts, or inventories—were written in the most appropriate language or languages. Issues of prestige and style played some role, but perhaps more as part of medicinal tradition and genre than merely for their own sake. Concerning code-switching, several modes (intersentential, intrasentential, and tag-switching) occur, but it is difficult to say why an apothecary switches into Latin in the middle of the sentence, even if previously in the same text he has used the equivalent, established term in Occitan. Obviously, this kind of use relates to the professionalism he expresses through code-switching, more or less consciously.

The complex literate practices of these medieval code-switchers might lead us to conceive of them as translingual writers, However, their multi- or rather bilingualism was not expressed in a range of genres, but it primarily flourished in professional texts which included medicinal terms. Despite their command of Latin, in genres related to their everyday life (e.g. accounts and notes), these practitioners—in the case of Peire de Serras, the same person who practiced

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84 Laura Wright, "Mixed-Language Business Writing: Five Hundred Years of Codeswitching," *Language Change: Advances in Historical Sociolinguistics*, ed. Ernst Håkon Jahr. Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs, 114. (Berlin and New York: Mouton, De Gruyter, 1998), 99–118; Hsy, *Trading Tongues* (see note 2), 1–5.

code-switching in the remedy genre—ended up writing in the vernacular with practically no code-switching at all. This confirms the possibility of real choice of language and possibly the fact that their knowledge of Latin was restricted to professional, i.e., pharmaceutical, as well as to a certain extent to the Christian or liturgical field. Moreover, Occitan was not only 'vernacular' in the sense of a local language spoken by a people as distinguished from literary language, but an established, although not standardized, language for different purposes.

In this kind of mobile environment rich in different languages it is evident that borrowings or loan words emerged and became established. The question of borrowings has not, however, been dealt with in this study due to the complexity of the issue and the unsolved methodological questions concerning the issue at what point a loanword becomes part of the borrowing language.

Here as elsewhere, code-switching is principally considered a linguistic, social, and historical phenomenon. Medical manuscripts often contain visual material, such as drawings of alembic and distillation process in the collection of recipes attributed to Peire de Serras. Should we regard visual representations in the middle of the text as a kind of code-switching? And further, in addition to drawings, illustrations, and ornaments, should the whole lay-out including the use of colored inks in different passages, underlinings, font changes, or different 'hands' (writers) be taken into consideration, since these textual and/or visual practices in medieval manuscripts are sometimes linked to instances of linguistic code-switching?[85]

One of the remaining questions is the role of Italian and spoken language in general in Occitan towns. Since international trade was primarily dominated by Italian merchants all around the Mediterranean and trade people also migrated from Tuscany, Lombardy, and other areas settling in the towns of Southern France, it is presumable that this was not without linguistic consequences. However, in this material there are practically no references to the use of Italian. It is, of course, possible that as related languages, speakers of Italian and Occitan could sufficiently understand each other in trade contacts. In written language, especially in charters made by Occitan notaries, Latin was still widely used in mercantile contexts. Having migrated in large numbers, Italians could use their own language in their communities, but in medieval trading environments this was scarcely the only strategy. A contact zone, such as was made up of Occitan towns and ports, most likely provided a spoken *lingua franca* and other in-

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85 Tim William Machan, "The Visual Pragmatics of Code-Switching in Late Middle English Literature," *Code-Switching in Early English*, ed. Herbert Schendl and Laura Wright. Topics in English Linguistics, 76 (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, Mouton, 2011), 303–34; here 303–04.

termediate varieties of speech for medieval trading communities—a challenging topic, which would need further investigation.

Christine Cooper-Rompato (Utah State University, Logan)

Xenoglossia and Multilingualism in Middle English Sermons on Pentecost

Medieval sermon writers were excited by the idea of xenoglossia, the miraculous ability to speak or understand foreign languages without previous study. Xenoglossia, a biblical miracle, provides a native-born facility with languages not requiring years of linguistic toil. Medieval sermons include accounts of the miraculous multilingualism that are modeled on, and adapted from, the New Testament description of tongues received by Jesus's apostles and/or disciples in Acts II.[1] In my 2010 book on the gift of tongues, I was interested in uncovering

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[1] For a discussion of preaching on the Bible in general (and the Pentecost specifically), as well as the definition of what constitutes a "sermon," see Siegfried Wenzel, "The Use of the Bible in Preaching," *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Anne Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 680–92. See also Wenzel, "The Arts of Preaching," *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, ed. Alastair Minnis and Ian Johnson, vol. 2: *The Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 84–96. Summaries of the sermons used in this essay, as well as their Middle English *incipits* and *explicits*, have recently been made available in *A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons*, the four-volume set edited by Veronica O'Mara and Suzanne Paul (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007). Whenever possible I have consulted the original manuscripts; in certain cases I must rely on the expert summaries of O'Mara and Paul.

   Middle English sermons on the Pentecost do not agree concerning who exactly received the gift of tongues: the apostles or the disciples. For example, the apostles are specifically mentioned in the *Northern Homily Cycle*, as they are in Cambridge, Trinity College B14 52 as well as the York Cycle play of Pentecost. Sermon 44 of Harley 2247 identifies the apostles as the recipients, whereas Sermon 43 identifies both the disciples and the apostles as the recipients (O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium*, 1152, 1150). Other sermons identify only the disciples, a term that could refer to the twelve apostles, or to the seventy two or one hundred twenty disciples. For example, several manuscripts of Mirk's *Festial* leave the disciples' numbers undefined, as does the mid-fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 280 (O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium*, 330). However, a version of the *Festial* sermon appearing in Oxford, Bodleian Library Greaves 54 defines the number of disciples as seventy-two (O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium*, 1952). This confusion over who exactly received the gift of tongues on the day of Pentecost reflects a greater medieval debate about this very question. According to Frank Beare, confusion over the recipients arose because both the apostles and the disciples are identified in Acts. The Apostles are specifically mentioned in 1:16–20 and 2:14, whereas Acts 1:15 refers to the 120 disciples. The seventy-two disciples mentioned in the Greaves *Festial* sermon offer a remedy to the seventy-two different languages created at Babel, as Pentecost is often imagined to be a remedy for the division of Babel. See Frank Beare, "Speaking with Tongues: A Critical Survey of the New

how medieval men and women imagined the nature and purpose of Pentecost's linguistic miracle. One important genre of literature I was unable to include in that study was vernacular sermons, a lack I hope to remedy here, especially as sermons were such an important part of the medieval laity's religious education.[2] This essay examines the phenomenon of Pentecost in a range of medieval English vernacular sermons. Three interrelated questions I approach these texts with are: 1) How is the phenomenon of Pentecost explained in vernacular English sermons? 2) What preoccupations with the Pentecostal multilingual experience do sermons expose? 3) How do the sermons imagine the linguistic nature of the miracle?

According to Silvana Vecchio in "Les langues de feu: Pentecôte et rhétorique sacrée dans les sermons des XIIe et XIIIe siècles," the occasion of Pentecost described in Acts 2 is particularly significant for medieval French preachers, as the account of the tongues of fire descending on the disciples was an important image of divinely-inspired speech.[3] This is certainly true for later medieval English Pentecost sermons as well; the author of a sermon from London, British Library Harley 2247, for example, elaborates on how the apostles received truth and boldness in their "perfect preaching" after the descent of the Holy Spirit.[4] The occasion also allowed priests to help themselves and their audience prepare to receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit, as described in 1 Corinthians 12:7–11; several of these gifts relate directly to preaching, including gifts of knowledge, wisdom, and tongues, which was interpreted as recognizable *human* language or xenoglossia, and not *unknown* tongues, the modern sense of glossolalia.[5] More-

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Testament Evidence," *Speaking in Tongues: A Guide to Research on Glossolalia*, ed. Watson E. Mills (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986), 107–26.

2 Christine Cooper-Rompato. *The Gift of Tongues: Women's Xenoglossia in the Later Middle Ages* (State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010).

3 Silvana Vecchio, "Les langues de feu: Pentecôte et rhétorique sacrée dans les sermons des XIIe et XIIIe siècles," *La parole du prédicateur: Ve–XVe siècle*, ed. Rosa Maria Dessi and Michel Lauwers. Collection du Centre d'Etudes Médiévales de Nice, 1 (Nice: Centre d'Etudes Médiévales, 1997), 255–69. For the description of Pentecost, see Douay Rheims, Acts 1.2.2––11. For a discussion of medieval preaching on biblical passages, see Siegfried Wenzel, "The Use of the Bible in Preaching," *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Anne Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 680–92.

4 Sermon 44, "Item in die pentecoste," in London, British Library Harley 2247, 119r–121v, in O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 1152.

5 1 Corinthians 12.7–11 in the Douay Rheims reads as follows: "And the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man unto profit. To one indeed, by the Spirit, is given the word of wisdom: and to another, the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; To another, faith in the same spirit; to another, the grace of healing in one Spirit; To another, the working of miracles;

over, sermonizing on the topic of tongues also allowed preachers to warn their audiences to temper their own speech to avoid the many "sins of the tongue."

My findings reveal a number of preoccupations in Middle English sermons on Pentecost. First, many sermons elaborate on the Greek etymology of "Pentecost" as well as "Whitsunday," the English term for Pentecost, tracing the name to three different origins drawing on the words *wit* and *white*. Second, the gift of tongues itself is described in two distinct ways: whereas some sermons imagine the miracle as occurring in the disciples' mouths (hence a miracle of speech), others imagine it as occurring in the ears of the audience (a miracle of hearing). Third, several sermons speculate about the different languages of the xenoglossic gift and offer intriguing observations about language in general, specifically about the relationship between English and other tongues.[6] Ultimately, I argue that depictions of Pentecost in vernacular English sermons reveal significant theological and cultural discussions concerning the nature of the gift of tongues.

I focus on English sermons in this essay for two reasons. First, because sermon writers develop etymologies specific to the English language in order to structure their scriptural exegeses. In that process, they create culturally specific reflections on Pentecost and its allegorical significance. Second, in developing the allegorical meanings of Whitsunday, the sermons invite their audiences to consider how linguistic difference is overcome in favor of Christian universalism, a kind of reversal of Babel. In giving a sermon, the priest functions as cultural and linguistic mediator as he translates the Bible for his listeners, allowing him to reflect on the nature of language and translation in the process. In this way these sermons actually enact the experience of Pentecost, for both Pentecost and the sermons present a communal oratorical performance that calls together linguistically limited listeners to form a kind of universal community.

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to another, prophecy; to another, the discerning of spirits; to another, diverse kinds of tongues; to another, interpretation of speeches. But all these things one and the same Spirit worketh, dividing to every one according as he will." For Corinthian tongues as human tongues, see Nathan Busenitz, "The Gift of Tongues: Comparing the Church Fathers with Contemporary Pentecostalism," *The Master's Seminary Journal* 17 (2006): 61–78.

6 Of course, these are not the only points that the sermons have in common. For example, medieval discussions of Pentecost typically focus on the idea that Pentecost created the community and represents the giving of the law. *Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature*, ed. David Lyle Jeffrey (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans, 1992), 596–600.

Etymologizing Pentecost and Whitsunday

Etymological analysis is one of the main techniques of sermon writers, and Middle English Pentecost sermons often begin with an etymological discussion.[7] Some sermons offer etymologies based on the Greek and Latin terms, and others explore the significance of *Whitsunday*. It is exciting to see how much more productive the English etymologies are; whereas the Greek and Latin etymologies focus on *Pentecost* and the numerological concerns of the number 50, the English word "whit" [wit] allows sermon writers to explore many more nuances of the allegorical meanings of this event.

A number of Middle English sermons discuss the meaning of the Greek word *Pentecost*, as well as the significance of the numbers associated with the occasions. Often sermons offer only a brief definition of Pentecost, as is found in the thirteenth-century Trinity College Cambridge B. 14. 52, which defines Pentecost as, "for þis dai is þe fiftugethe dai. After estrene dai" ("For this is the fiftieth day after Easter day").[8] The *Speculum Sacerdotale* explains in more detail the derivation of Pentecost: "Pentecoste is seide *and* comyþ of 'penta', þat is v., and 'costes', that is x. Pentecost is as myche to say the fifty day after the Paske, *et cetera*."[9] Yet another sermon elaborates on the significance of the number fifty in the liturgical calendar as well as scripture. As the author of Sloane 3160 states,

> Also good men and women this day a monge us in latyn [is] called dies pentecostes. And theise wordes may be under stonden in many maners as this first: it may be under stonde the first day of dayes. And the l [50] yer of yeres and also the fifty psalmes of psalmes... [T]his worde pentecoste may be under stonde the l [50] day of quadragesima [Lent] un til estyr day. And until Wit Sunday there ben other l [50] dayes and ben dayes of penance that Chryst suffred for us here. And the last l [50] dayes ben dayes of mirthe and joye. Also ... it may be understonde the l [50] yer and that yere is cleped a monge us Annum Iubileum

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7 For the importance of etymology to sermons, see, for example, Eyal Poleg, "The Interpretation of Hebrew Names in Theory and Practice," *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible*, ed. Eyal Poleg and Laura Light (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 217–36; and Roger Andersson, ed., *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*. Sermo: Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching, 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

8 *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, from the Unique MS. B.14.52 in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, ed. and trans. R. Morris. Early English Text Society, 2nd series (London: Trübner, 1873) 116, 117.

9 *Speculum Sacerdotale, edited from British Museum MS. Additional 36791*, ed. Edward H. Weatherly. Early English Text Society (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), sermon 41 on Pentecost, pg. 158.

whanne Abraham asked gode for the 80 rightful men in the worlde ... And also it may be under stonde the l [50] psalmes.[10]

The passage continues (in summary), "The psalter is made up of three sets of fifty psalms, representing the hundred and fifty days of Noah's flood."[11] The fifty of Pentecost therefore links temporally and thematically the Old Testament with New, Abraham and Noah and the Psalms with the resurrection of Christ.

More productive, however, for the sermon writers is the English etymology of Whitsunday. The *wit* in English allows sermon writers to make a connection and an allegorical interpretation that is not possible in Greek or Latin, since the word "wit" is Germanic in origin. Sermon writers can therefore reflect on how an English speaker living in England, with its unique historical and linguistic past, can also consider his or her place in a more universal Christian world, one that promotes linguistic understanding between all members.

The English term for Pentecost is Whitsunday, the earliest written appearance of which occurs in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in a reference to "Hwitan Sunnandæg" in 1067.[12] According to the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, the term "Whitsunday" is thought to be derived from white robes worn by the newly baptized.[13] Middle English sermons, however, offer three different etymologies for the name, only one of which relates to "whiteness" (but not to clothing). Most frequently the sermons equate "Whitsunday" with wits or knowledge. One sermon equates "wits" with the five senses, and two attribute the name to the practice of giving milk to the poor on that particular day.

Most frequently sermons equate Wit Sunday with "wits" or the knowledge and understanding gifted by the Holy Ghost to the disciples, to enable them to undertake their preaching missions and facilitate the early growth of the Christian Church. The *Middle English Dictionary* defines wit as "mental ability, intelligence; wisdom; also, learning, knowledge."[14] This sense of "wit" is referred to in many sermons. For example, the author of British Library Cotton Claudius A.ii, a fifteenth-century manuscript of the popular *Festial* cycle by John Mirk, explains, "[G]ode men, ȝe knoweth wel þat þis day is callyd Wyt Sonday for encheson þat þe Holy Goste as þis day broght wytte and wysdam into alle Crystes dysciplus,

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10 Sloane 3160, sermon 19, pg. 101 (54r). For a translation, see O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 1507.

11 The summary is from O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 1507.

12 *Oxford English Dictionary*, definition 1 A. www.oed.com.

13 *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, 3rd rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

14 *Middle English Dictionary*, definition 3a. http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/.

and so be here prechyng aftur into alle Crystys pepul."[15] "Wit and wisdom" is repeated in many Festial manuscripts, as in the mid-late fifteenth-century collection Oxford University, Bodleian Greaves 54; according to the sermon, the Holy Ghost "brouȝt witt and wisdome to Cristen discipull why thay taught well and levyd well so that by here goode techyng and by here goode ensampull of leuyng the faith of holy chirche was sprede all about the worlde."[16] Moreover, as the *Festial* sermon in Bodleian Library MS Gough Eccl. Top. 4 emphasizes, "And fullet hom so full of gostly wit and wisdom, þat anon þeras þay before were buy veray ydeotes and lewde men and ryȝt noȝt couþe of clerge, soddenly þay wern þe best clerkes yn all þe world."[17] The *Festial* sermons emphasize that knowledge and wisdom are two different things; one may have the knowledge to teach well, but wisdom allows one to live well and to become an example for others, a message particularly applicable to the medieval sermon preachers.[18]

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15 Sermon 39, "De die pentecostes, Sermo," in London, British Library Claudius A. ii, 75r, in O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 990.

16 Sermon 3, "In die pentecosten," in Oxford, Bodleian Library Greaves 54, 107v–108r, in O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 1962–63. According to O'Mara and Paul, "The incipit is an extremely abbreviated version ... of the opening of the corresponding *Festial* sermon (BL/Claudius Aii/039)." See also sermon 39 of *Mirks' Festial: A Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk)*. Edited from Bodl. Ms. Gough Eccl. Top. 4, with variant readings from other mss, ed. Theodor Erbe. Early English Text Society, Part 1 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905): "Goode men and woymen, as ȝe knowen wele all, þys day ys called Whitsonday, for bycause þat Holy Gost as þys day broȝt wyt and wysdome ynto all Cristes dyscyples, and soo by hor prechyng aftyr ynto all Cristys pepull" (159); "And fullet hom so full of gostly wit and wisdom, þat anon þeras þay before were buy veray ydeotes and lewde men and ryȝt noȝt cou þe of clerge, soddenly þay wern þe best clerkes yn all þe world, and speken all maner langages vndyr þe sonne" (160). Cotton Claudius A.ii. 039 has it: "Gode men, ȝe knoweth wel þat þis day is callid Wyt Sonday for encheson þat þe Holy Goste as þis day broght wytte and wysdam into alle Crystes dysciplus, and so be here prechyng aftur into alle Crystys pepul. ..." (O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium*, 990). Sermon 43 ("Item in die dominica pentecoste") of British Library Harley 2247 reports: "Right worshipfull frenedis, þis day is callid Witt Sonday because þe Holy Goste þis day brought wytt and wisdom to all Cristes appostles and disciplis, and so þeire preching, doctryne and techyng to all Cristen peple. Ye shall vnderstonde þat many hath witte but no wisdom ..." (from 116v–119r, quoted in O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium*, 1150). Oxford, Bodleian Library Greaves 54, Sermon 20 on 56v–57r states, "Hyt ys also callyd Wyt Sonday for ten dayes after hys ascencyon, he send wyt and wysdome ynto his dyscyplys lxxii" (O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium*, 1952). Sermon 10 of Hatfield House Cecil Papers 280 states: "God men and women, thys day is callyd Wytt Sonday for because þat þe Holy Gost as þys day ȝave whytte and wysdom into Cristys disciplys" (O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium*, 330). This particular sermon "begins like the *Festial* sermon...but then completely diverges" (O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium*, 317).

17 Erbe, *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies* (see note 16), 160, lines 10–13.

18 See O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 991, for a summary, see here.

Other non-*Festial* sermons also link Witsunday with wit and wisdom. For example, the writer of a Pentecost sermon from Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 95, a fifteenth-century manuscript incorporating Wycliffite sermon material, proclaims in its opening, "With comfort, grace, and witt the Holy Gost fulfilled Cristes discipels and ȝaue to hem newe ȝeftes"; the sermon then closes with, "This ȝefte of wysedome and of wytt that God ȝaue þis day duell in vs thorouȝ his grace oure life for to rule."[19] Similarly, British Library Additional 36791, otherwise known as the *Speculum Sacerdotale*, an early fifteenth-century anonymous sermon cycle existing in one manuscript, emphasizes the etymology of Whitsunday by stating, "And þerfore it is called the day of knowelachynge and vnderstondyng of God."[20] Likewise, the author of Homily 33 on Pentecost from the early fourteenth-century Northern Homily Cycle proclaims: "This daie Wittsondaie es callde, / For witte and wisdome sevenefalde / Was given to the apoostils als today."[21]

Several sermons offer other derivations of the name "Whitsunday." British Library Sloane 3160, a mid-fifteenth-century miscellany containing a number of medicinal treatises as well as religious texts, links the meaning of "wit" with the five wits or senses. As the author of Sloane 3160 explains, Whitsunday is a fitting name because

> in that day, good men and wommen, the holy gost was sent from heuene into erthe to yeven al mankynde of his grace to speke with here tonges al maner of langage. And how thei shul knowe here v wittes and dispendynge hem to the worshipe of God.[22]

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19 Sermon 23, "In die pentecosten," from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 95 (44r–v; 47r–v), in O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 1659.

20 *Speculum Sacerdotale,* ed. Weatherly (see note 9), chapter 41, pg. 158.

21 *The Northern Homily Cycle*, ed. Anne B. Thompson (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005), please check this source, cannot find it in the catalogue Homily 33, lines 1–3. See also London, British Library Harley 2276, sermon 36: "The preacher describes the word of God as the well of wisdom and speaks of his thirst" (O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* [see note 1], 1282), thereby equating "Wit Sunday" with wisdom. According to O'Mara and Paul, this manuscript was written in the mid fifteenth century; the collection was a translation of "a late twelfth- or early-thirteenth century sermon collection known as *Filius matris* and often falsely attributed to William de Montibus" (O'Mara and Paul, 1224).

22 If we recall that Sloane 3160 also defines Whitsunday as being in part derived from, or related to, the five wits or bodily senses, we note that five is also a factor of fifty. The sermon's fondness for the significance of the number fifty suggests that its author was thinking of the resonance between the five bodily wits and the fifty days, years, and number of psalms suggested by the occasion. Sermon 19, "De die pentecoste," in London, British Library Sloane 3160, pp. 100–03 (53v–55r) in O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 1507. See *Middle English*

The sermon, therefore, emphasizes that not only one's "wit" or intellectual knowing and understanding that must be turned to worship, but also the physical senses must be turned from the world toward God. The link between Whitsunday and the five bodily wits to be used for the worship of God seems particularly appropriate in the context of the medical manuscript focused in large part on bodily wellness and the physical senses.

Sloane 3160 also traces the derivation of Whitsunday to the whiteness of milk, as does the *Speculum Sacerdotale* (British Library Add 36791). Immediately after mentioning the five wits or senses, Sloane 3160's author describes an old practice attributed to the audience's forefathers: "And therefore we fynde wretyn that oure prodessessours, the whiche were before us, wolde yeve that day mylke that thei hadde of here net and here shepe to pore men for the loue of God."[23] As the *Speculum* explains in more detail,

> And þerfore it is called the day of knowelachynge and vnderstondyng of God, *scilicet*, Witsonday, or ellis Whitesonday, for the old faders and predecessors vsid in that day for to yeue alle the mylke of here schepe, kyen, and of alle here bestis to the pore people for þe loue of God for that they schuld be the clenner to receyue the ȝyfte of the Holy Gost.[24]

Thus, medieval sermons create and emphasize a link between the name Whitsunday and the older, no-longer practiced charitable tradition of giving white milk to the poor so that the givers could be better prepared to receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

Thus, despite our modern understanding of the derivation of Whitsunday from the whiteness of clothing worn by the newly baptized, medieval English sermons offered different explanations for the name, with the most common being to link "wit" with knowledge and understanding, since the miracle was thought to have allowed the Church to grow and prosper through the preaching of the disciples, creating and fostering a growing Christian community. The play of the word *wit* with the five senses also is elaborated on in one sermon, and the connection between "white" and milk is mentioned in two, demonstrating a recognition of the metaphorical resonances of the name as well as a sense of verbal play. These etymologies, false or not, were intended to help foster the spiritual growth of the medieval audiences by emphasizing Whitsunday's connection

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Dictionary, 4b and 4c. "perception, esp. sensory perception; also, a sensory impression"; a sense, one of the five senses; also, a bodily power."

23 Sermon 19, p. 101, in O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 1507.

24 *Speculum Sacerdotale,* ed. Weatherly (see note 9), chapter 41, p. 58.

with knowledge, perception, and charity, and the proper use of these gifts for the betterment of the Christian community.[25]

The Relationship between English and Other Tongues in Pentecost Sermons

Middle English Pentecost sermons also invite English speakers to think about the relationship between their native language and other tongues. In other words, Pentecost sermons explore what it means to belong to national and linguistic communities in a world that—in theory—should aim to become one Christian community.

Just how the gift of tongues is received and experienced commands much attention in sermons on Pentecost. The sermons explore how the gift manifests itself, as either a miracle of orality or aurality. A number of sermons describe the gift of tongues as an oral experience, that is, miraculous speech occurring in the mouths of the apostles or disciples. Such is the case with Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc 40, a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century copy of the *Mirror*, a sermon collection that was translated from the Anglo-Norman *Miroir* by Robert of Gretham.[26] According to the manuscript, "Although the disciples could only speak Hebrew, they immediately learned many different languages and instead of hiding they spoke openly to the people. The Holy Spirit came to them in the form of tongues of fire, burning with charity and enabling them to speak."[27] Similarly, the fifteenth-century British Library Additional 34888, which contains a Pentecost sermon perhaps authored by James Gloys, imagines the gift to be an oral one, for the purpose of preaching:

> And because the doctrine and prechyng of them shuld go thurghought all the werd, furst thei were to be enformed and taught connyng and to be strenth wyth awdacide and grace, and than to be endewed and yovyn all maner of langages þat thei myght prechyn to all maner of naciones, so that tho naciones þat thei preched to myght vndirstond them and euery naciones his owyn tonge.[28]

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25 See Davide Del Bello, *Forgotten Paths: Etymology and the Allegorical Mindset* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007).

26 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Miscellaneous 40, in O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 2047.

27 Sermon 28, "þe Gospel on W[hi]t Sunday, Ion xiiii capitulo," 54v–55v, summary in O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 2098.

28 Sermon 1 from London, British Library, Additional 34888, 171r–v, in O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 353.

The *Speculum Sacerdotale* repeatedly asserts the oral nature of the gift, explaining first, "In this feste the Holy Goste descended vpon þe apostles, and he ʒaue to hem grace of spekynge with tonges of yche londe and countre and confermyd here hertis more vnto his loue"[29]; second, "this Holy Goste was so swift and so spedy a techer that he tauʒt þe hertes of the lewde disciples alle maner sciences in a moment *and* informyd here tongues to alle speches"[30]; and third, "And vnto þat day of the Holy Gost alle the apostles spake in o tongue, but after they knewe alle tongis and dyde speke hem alle."[31]

Other sermons imagine the gift of tongues as occurring at least in part in the ears of the listeners. The author of the thirteenth-century Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 sermon on Pentecost explains that the miracle involved the hearing of the audience:

> For þeh it were ones londes speche on þe apostles muðes þe þere speken ; ech man þe hem herden were of wiche londe swo he were. for þere weren men of eche londe þat is under heuene liðe. hit þuhte here ech sunderlepes þat it was his londes speche. Swo þe holie gost hem fulde of him seluen and sette þe word on hem þe þere speken. and skilede on hem þat hie herden.[32]

> ["For though there was only the speech of one county in each apostle's mouth that was there speaking, to each man who heard them, of whatsoever land he was (for there were men of every land under heaven's course), it seemed to each of them severally to be the speech of his own land. So the Holy Ghost filled them with himself, and put the words in the mouths of those that spoke there, and made them to differ in those that heard them."][33]

However, later the sermon emphasizes that it was an oral miracle:

> ðus þe holie apostles wer gadered on ane stede. and þus þe holi gost com uppen hem and fulde hem of him seluen. And freurede hem of sorege. and tehte hem speken eches londes speche

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29 *Speculum Sacerdotale*, ed. Weatherly (see note 9), p. 159, lines 1–3.

30 *Speculum Sacerdotale* (see note 9), lines 8–10.

31 *Speculum Sacerdotale* (see note 9), lines 36–41.

32 *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, from the Unique MS. B.14.52. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, ed. and trans. R. Morris. Early English Text Society, 2nd series (London: Trübner, 1873), pp. 117, 119. According to O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 139, the manuscript dates from the thirteenth-century.

33 Morris, *Old English Homilies* (see note 32), 116, 118.

[Thus the holy apostles were assembled in one place, and thus the Holy Ghost came upon them and filled them with himself, and comforted them of sorrow, and taught them to speak the speech of every land].[34]

Thus, it is unclear whether the xenoglossia is aural, oral, or both.

However, in placing the divine gift of translation in the body of the lay listeners, a Middle English sermon could be strongly advocating the Englishing of the Bible. Although British Library Additional 40672, containing sermons by John Wycliffe,[35] states in the sermon on the occasion of the tenth Sunday after Trinity, that "The Holy Spirit gives people the gift to *speak* in various languages, as the apostles did on Whit Sunday,"[36] in the earlier sermon on Pentecost, the linguistic gift is also identified as taking place in the *ears* of the listeners [emphasis mine]. At first the sermon describes how the elements of events of Pentecost signify its miraculous nature, emphasizing a spoken gift: "The shape of the fire, tongues, signifies the many languages which the apostles could then speak." It then continues: "Luke says that there were many Jews in Jerusalem who all spoke different languages ... and each heard the apostles speaking in their own language; he names sixteen languages."[37] But then, British Library Additional 40672 contemplates further:

> Some people believe that each of the apostles spoke a different language but the text suggests that each of them knew all the languages. However, it seems unlikely that one man would be speaking many languages at the same time since different languages have different forms. It seems likely that the miracle was that the disciples understood the different languages spoken to them but when they spoke their own language in reply, all the hearers understood it as it was in their own language, as the sound of a bell is understood differently. Each person had their own miracle but there is also a sense of unity of heart.[38]

This passage offers an extended contemplation of how the gift of tongues occurred. It is important to note that the sermon is very interested in how these languages were miraculously translated because Pentecost is used as a justification for why scripture should be in English. The following passage, found in some

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34 Morris, *Old English Homilies* (see note 1), 118 – 19.

35 See British Library Royal 18 B.ix; see also *The Select English Works of John Wyclif*, volume 2, pg. 312.

36 Sermon 40, "Cominica x post trinitatem, epistola" from London, British Library, Additional 40672, 42r (full range of sermon 41r–42v.) in O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 860.

37 Sermon 29, "In die pentecostes," 30v–31v, British Library, Additional 40672, summary in O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 843. From 31r.

38 O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 843.

versions of the Wycliffite Bible, assert the right and need for the Bible to be in English: "Frenshe men, Beemers and Britons han þe Bible and oþere bokis of deuocioun and of exposicioun translatid in here modir langage. Whi shulden not Engilsh men haue þe same in here modir langage?"[39] That the tongues of Pentecost should occur in the ears of the listeners suggests (and argues) that the listeners' languages are worthy of scripture.

This interest in the oral/aural nature of the xenoglossic gift is also found in a number of medieval hagiographic texts. The intense focus on how the miracle occurs in both saints' lives and sermons demonstrates the medieval preoccupation with the mechanics of Pentecost. Perhaps the text that is most concerned with how the miracle of tongues takes place, either orally or aurally, is the fifteenth-century English *Book of Margery Kempe*; it is likely that discussions of the oral/aural nature of the miracle in sermons influenced Kempe's own experience and subsequent narrative. which describes in detail a miracle of shared xenoglossia that took place after thirteen days of prayer in Rome: Kempe was able to speak English and be understood in English by her German-speaking confessor Wenslawe, and he was able to speak German and be understood by Kempe, although she understood no other German spoken by other Germans, and he understood no other English. Kempe thus proves the miracle to her fellow English pilgrims who doubt the miracle by inviting Wenslawe to the Roman hospice where she is residing; there she relates a story of Holy Writ and Wenslawe translates it (most likely into Latin, the "common" tongue), much to the surprise and wonder of the English pilgrims. The intense focus on who understands whom and how long the miracle takes to develop culminates in Kempe's English scriptural talk being translated into Latin by a priest, thereby affirming and supporting its spiritual value and allowing Kempe's words to become universally understood, or at least understood by a much larger, pan-European Christian community.[40]

In addition, several Middle English sermons make observations about the nature of language that can be interpreted as a kind of linguistic or translation theory. One such discussion involves the nature of languages and whether or not they are fundamentally different from one another. Mirk's *Festial* imagines that all languages share certain similarities in their letters and sounds. Mirk's *Sermon*

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39 Anne Hudson, ed., *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Pres, 1978), 71, lines 165 – 68, quoted in Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 344.
40 *The Book of Margery Kempe: Annotated Edition*, ed. Barry Windeatt (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), chapter 33.

Brevis on the "Vigilia Pentecostes" describes the gifts of the Holy Ghost to men, which appears to be a kind of xenoglossic ability:

> Som be ȝeuen grace of vndirstondyng þat not only vndirstondy þe hor owne spece, but also o þyr langwagys, as Frenche o þer Romayns wythouten any trauayle of lernyng. Hit ys a gret gyft of God þat ych man can vndirstong o þyr yn spekyng. For v lettyrs maky þe ych word of all languagys þat ben vndyr þe heuen to vndyrstond, and without on of þos v lettyrs þer may no man kow what ano þyr speke þe; and þes ben þe lettres: A, E, I, O, U.[41]

The *Festial* sermons identify the five vowels common to "all languages," emphasizing the important building blocks that are shared by all languages and which facilitate the gift of xenoglossia as well as language learning in general. The emphasis on the number five is significant, as it echoes the five wounds of Christ, five as a factor of fifty of Pentecost, etc., numerological understandings that most medieval Christians shared.

The specific examples of languages are also revealing. The *Festial* sermon gives French and Romayns or Latin; these are the two languages that many English had to expend much effort to learn. Interestingly, sermon forty-two of the *Festial* collection found in British Library Harley 2247 modifies the "frenche or romayn" to identify the second gift of the Holy Spirit as "the understanding of unspecified 'dyuers langages,'" either indicating a different audience who would appreciate the languages left unidentified, or possibly a gap in the exemplar used for this particular manuscript.[42] Thus, the sermons suggest that the community of English Christians share something linguistically and culturally in common with other continental Christians, be they speakers of Latin-derived tongues or other more "diverse languages."

Discussions of Pentecost frequently emphasize the diversity of languages, emphasizing their utter unlikeness to each other, which are brought together as one. The Northern Homily Cycle text on Pentecost describes the specific languages given on Pentecost, "plac[ing] a touchingly anachronistic emphasis on the languages and dialects which are known to him as part of the medieval world."[43] In place of the Parthians, Medes, Elamites, Cretes, Arabians, etc.,

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41 Erbe, *Mirk's Festial* (see note 16), 156–57.

42 Sermon 42, "in vigilia pentecosten," from London British Library Harley 2247, 115r–115v, in O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium* (see note 1), 1150. For a discussion of the origins of the manuscript, see Alan J. Fletcher and Susan Powell, "The Origins of a Fifteenth-Century Sermon Collection: MSS Harley 2247 and Royal 18 B XXV," *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 10 for 1978 (1979): 74–96.

43 Thompson, ed., *Northern Homily Cycle* (see note 21), explanatory notes.

who benefit from the Pentecostal gift of tongues in scripture, the homily describes:

> For wyse in all ledes ware thaie
> Thai spak withouten mannes lare
> Alkin langage in lande that ware.
> Thai spak Latine, Franche, and Grewe,
> Sarzenay, Danhsse, and Ebrewe,
> Inglihsse, Walhsse, and Pikardie,
> Gascoyne, Toskayne, and Lombardie.
> And of all othir ware thai wise
> To lere the folk Goddes servyse.[44]

As the editor of the Northern Homily Cycle explains, no doubt the author was thinking of "groups of people" rather than "specific languages," as scripture also suggests.[45] The homily's list begins with the learned, prestigious languages of Latin, French, and Greek, then moves further afield to other languages or groups of people more "exotic" to the author, namely Sarceny, Danish, and Hebrew, representing the three religions of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. (Or, alternatively, the Danish may represent an older, pagan tradition.) Immediately after the author settles back on more local languages and dialects by naming English, Welsh, and the areas of France and Italy where various dialects were spoken the poet elevates these areas, namely "Pikardie, Gascoyne, Toskayne, and Lombardie," to the status of languages. The author may have been attempting to name a variety of languages of the world, but the list reveals a hierarchy of languages, with the learned and prestigious languages of Latin, French and Greek first, ending with the more local dialects that, although similar linguistically, were still mutually unintelligible. These tremendously diverse groups of listeners are thus all brought together in one cultural experience.

Similarly, it is not uncommon for saints' lives to list examples of disparate languages to emphasize the extent of the Pentecostal miracle. The fifteenth-cen-

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44 Thompson, ed., *Northern Homily Cycle* (see note 21), lines 4–16. Regarding "Sarzenay," Thompson writes: "What precisely the poet meant by this term is unclear. It could well have included both the Arabic language and anything spoken by Muslims or non-Christians. With respect to all the 'languages' named by the poet in lines 7–10, it seems likely that he is thinking, in part, of groups of people rather than specific languages, about which his knowledge was probably very limited." Regarding "Pikardie," she writes, "Picardy is a region in northern France and can also refer to the dialect of French spoken there." Gascoyne, Toskayne, and Lombardie "refer to the dialects spoken respectively in Gascony, a region in the southwest coastal area of France, Tuscany (central Italy), and Lombardy (northern Italy)" (247).

45 Thompson, *Northern Homily Cycle* (see note 21), footnote 8.

tury life of St. Vincent Ferrer, for example, describes a preaching occasion on which he is given the gift of xenoglossia. He is said to be understood by Greeks, Sardinians, Hungarians, and Bretons, speakers chosen for their obvious distinctions.[46] Since vernacular languages are often perceived as being quite different from one another, the xenoglossic miracle, either occurring in the ears of the listeners or the mouths of the holy speaker, is emphasized, and one larger Christian community can be imagined as existing for the duration of the miracle, if not longer.

Conclusion

There is some significance to the findings reported in this essay. First, the sermons provide further evidence of how the gift of tongues was imagined in the Middle Ages. The association of the English word "wit" with the knowledge of other languages suggests that the gift of tongues is imagined as a gift of multilingualism that can be centered in both preacher and audience. In taking place in the ears of the listeners, the xenoglossic miracle suggests that the lay audience benefits from (and partakes in) the wisdom and intelligence implied in "wit." Whitsunday is therefore, in its etymological understanding, participatory and affirming of lay languages. The sermons imagine a universal community in which English functions on par with other languages, including Latin and Greek.

   In addition, these sermons help shed light on the depiction of Pentecost in other Middle English religious texts such as *Piers Plowman* and *The Book of Margery Kempe*, In Book 19 of the C Text, Langland describes the descent of the Spiritus Paracletus. The passage mentions "wit" at least four times, three of which refer to understanding and knowledge and one to the bodily wits; this repetition seems to echo the interest in defining "wit" in the Whitsunday sermons.[47] *Piers Plowman* displays no ambiguity about where the miracle occurs, in the mouths (and brains) of the speakers: the Spirit "made hem konne and knowe alle kynnes langages."[48] Langland specifically defines the Pentecostal miracle as the ability

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46 *Acta Sanctorum*, April 1, 495.

47 See William Langland, *Piers Plowman: A New Annotated Edition of the C-Text* ed. Derek Pearsall (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2008), Book 19.

48 For discussions of Pentecost in Piers Plowman, see William Elford Rogers, *Interpretation in Piers Plowman* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 2002), 61–65. However, the text does not define how many "felawes" Piers has with him, and if they are the disciples and/or apostles; this may be a purposeful avoidance of the debate over who actually received the gift of tongues. See footnote one.

to know all languages, or omnilingualism, the remedy of Babel's linguistic division.

Understanding the depiction of Pentecost in sermons, specifically the sound of the descent of the Holy Spirit, may also shed light on *The Book of Margery Kempe*. The Douay Rheims translates the sound of the descent in Acts as "a mighty wind." Mirk's sermon in Gough (and other manuscripts) describes the sound as thunder: "Then, as that weren thus yn hor prayers, soddenly a gret sowne was made yn the firmament lyke a gret barst of thondyr."[49] I believe that sermon discussions such as these have influenced the *The Book of Margery Kempe*. As Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa has so aptly pointed out, Kempe's description of a miracle she experienced on Whitsun Eve is patterned on the imagery of Pentecost. As the *Book* relates, "It befel on a Fryday befor Whytson Evyn, as this creatur was in a cherch of Seynt Margarete at N heryng hir messe, sche herd a gret noyse and a dredful."[50] A heavy stone and log then fell on her while she was praying; however, for twelve weeks after she had no pain. The references to a terrible ("gret") noise, to Whitsun Eve, and to the twelve weeks afterward (which invoke the twelve Apostles and Mary, so often pictured with the descent of the Holy Spirit), show a distinct patterning on depictions of Pentecost. As many scholars have argued, in her *Book* Kempe is struggling to create a universal community of Christian believers, from England to Italy to Germany and the Holy Land. Since medieval discussions of Pentecost typically focused on the idea that Pentecost created the community, it is likely Kempe perceived her own Pentecostal experience as divine support of her efforts.[51]

Piers Plowman and *The Book of Margery Kempe* offer two examples of what could be a profitable line of further research, on literary depictions of miraculous multilingualism, and the place of the English language within those imaginings. Middle English sermons on Whitsunday suggest that the miraculous translation taking place in the mouths and ears of the apostles/disciples and audiences is very much a gift of linguistic "wit" or knowledge; in sharing this knowledge with (and translating scripture for) his congregation, the medieval preacher encourages his English listeners to partake in the Pentecostal miracle of tongues.

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49 Erbe, *Mirk's Festial* (see note 16), 160.

50 *Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Windeatt (see note 40), Book 9, lines 480–82.

51 Jeffrey, *Dictionary of Biblical Tradition* (see note six), 596–600.

Michael Ingham (Lingnan University, Hong Kong)

Bi- and Multilingualism in the Early English Ballad

Francophone Influences in the Development of the Ballad Genre in Medieval England

> Our knowledge of popular lyric is bafflingly fragmentary. Popular song is indeed the lost art of medieval England. – John Stevens[1]

> Our English folk songs then must be considered as part of a general European complex; only gradually over slow centuries did they take on their peculiar national and class character. – A. L. Lloyd[2]

What's in a Name? The Term "Ballad"

In this paper I posit a connection between the continental European lyric forms of the Italian *ballata* and the French *balade* and *lais* and the early Anglophone ballad via the influence of Anglo-Norman linguistic and cultural practices in the medieval period. The extent to which Anglo-Norman linguistic and cultural presence in Anglophone culture in the medieval period and the contact interface with Middle English were significant factors in the development of the ballad form will also be discussed. The term "ballad," I argue, almost certainly came into the English language from Anglo-Norman cultural assimilation, as Chaucer's individual ballades and John Gower's *Cinkante Balades*[3] exemplify. The Harley MS collections feature a number of anonymous secular songs/ballads in one or more of Middle English, Anglo-Norman, and Latin, some of them written in bilingual or macaronic versions, as do Thomas Wright's anthology of medieval political songs and I. S. T. Aspin's *Anglo-Norman Political Songs* compilation for the Anglo-Norman Text Society.[4]

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[1] John Stevens, "Medieval Lyrics and Music," *Medieval Literature: The New Pelican Guide to English Literature*, ed. Boris Ford (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982), 248–76; here 252.

[2] A.L. Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* (1967; London: Faber and Faber, 2008), 88.

[3] John Gower, *The French Balades*, ed. and trans. Robert F. Yeager. Teams Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2011).

[4] See *Thomas Wright's Political Songs of England, from the Reign of John to that of Edward II*, ed. Peter Coss. Camden Society Reprint (1839; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1996) and *Anglo-Norman Political Songs*, ed. I. S. T. Aspin (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1953).

While Anglo-Norman was a *lingua franca* in earlier centuries following the Norman invasion, by the latter part of the thirteenth century it had been subject to strong influence by phonological features of English (Anglo-Saxon) and was effectively a vernacular form with significant variations from continental French.[5] Anglo-Norman narrative and lyrical texts seem to have a definite affinity in subject matter, scope and form with the early ballad texts that have come down to us in English. It is my contention that these parallel ballad texts provide insights into the linguistic and cultural hybridity of the medieval period in England. The present chapter will explore the underlying national and cultural relationship between these seemingly disparate generic strands, attempting to establish a correlation, and will also refer to a number of specific examples.

In her article "What's in a Name? Anglo-Norman Romances or *Chansons de Geste*," Marianne Ailes addresses an interesting question with reference to the derivation and terminology of the romances and *chansons de geste:* "This discrepancy [of nomenclature] raises questions regarding the definition of medieval genres. Are our labels simply modern critical constructs imposed on medieval texts?"[6] One of the texts that Ailes discusses is the *Horn* legend, which was also appropriated by ballad singers for its mystical and epic-heroic qualities and became a canonical text of the genre, included in Francis Child's influential nineteenth-century ballad anthology.[7] Likewise, in her study of the courtly ballad tradition, Gwendolyn Morgan acknowledges the problem associated with the appellation "ballad": "Balladry is a slippery term," she writes, "according to whether one is considering it from the perspective of poet and musician or from that of the folklorist."[8]

Indeed the folk ballads identified by Child, Morgan, and others as dating back to the medieval era appear on the face of it to have more in common

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5 See Richard Ingham, "Later Anglo-Norman as a Contact Variety of French?," *The Anglo-Norman Language and Its Contexts*, ed. Richard Ingham (Woodbridge: Boydell Press in association with York Medieval Press, 2010), 8–25. See also the contributions to *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: the French of England c.1100 – c.1500,* ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 2009) for more detailed accounts of the linguistic fortunes of Anglo-Norman.

6 Marianne Ailes, "What's in a Name? Anglo-Norman Romances or Chansons de Geste?," *Medieval Romance, Medieval Contexts*, ed. Rhiannon Purdie and Michael Cichon. Studies in Medieval Literature (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011), Ch. 6, 61–75. Altogether, Ailes offers an insightful discussion of genre and nomenclature in her chapter.

7 Francis James Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 5 vols. (New York: Dover Publications, 1965)

8 Gwendolyn A. Morgan, ed. and trans., *Medieval Ballads: Chivalry, Romance and Everyday Life: A Critical Anthology* (New York, Washington, DC, et al.: Peter Lang, 1996), 1.

with the Nordic epic narrative tradition. The courtly form was essentially lyrical, rhetorically stylized, emotionally expressive and generally written from a personal narrative focalization, while the folk ballad form that emerged in medieval England tended to be narrative or action-driven, structurally elliptical, emotionally neutral and impersonal in its focus. Furthermore, the former was associated with the aristocratic class, at least in terms of patronage and audience, while the latter was essentially demotic in character and explicitly or implicitly critical of the mores and actions of the dominant class. The former combined secondary orality with a highly literate literacy in its composition, while the latter was primarily oral and non-literary in spirit and motivation. Despite the common etymological root of the two generic terms, there appear to be far more formal and thematic dissimilarities than similarities. In other words, the use of the term "ballad" with reference to these two seemingly polar opposite forms of creative expression and social entertainment appears to a contemporary eye and ear capricious.

The Harley MS collections in the British Library feature a number of anonymous secular songs/ballads rendered in bilingual or macaronic versions combining or interspersing Middle English, Anglo-Norman and Latin. A number of these also feature in Thomas Wright's 1839 selection entitled *Political Songs of England – From the Reign of John to that of Edward II* as well as in Carleton Brown's *English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century*.[9] A few exemplar ballads which will be discussed include the Robin Hood-like "Outlaw's Song of Trailbaston" (written in the contemporary French of England) and the Romance-derived ballad "Hind Horn" as well as the protestation of innocence in the song "A Prisoner's Prayer" from the late thirteenth century. They provide evidence of a bilingual, or even multilingual, tendency which has been largely overlooked—at least until very recently—in scholarship on the development of the ballad form in England. Interestingly, in some of these lyrics Anglo-Norman is used less as a medium of expression of the dominant class, as might be expected from its courtly traditions, and more as an educated written medium for articulating socio-political discontent or protest on behalf of the disaffected educated class and, occasionally, the underclass.

The central argument of this chapter is that this strain of what might be called "protest ballad" or "outlaw ballad" in the Anglophone folk tradition has linguistic, stylistic, and even thematic roots in a Francophone poetic prac-

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9 Carleton Brown, in his *English Lyrics of the 13th Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950), includes a wide range of lyrics in English and Latin with a few in Anglo-Norman from this period. His anthology forms part of a series of secular and religious collections of medieval verse.

tice. It may seem counter-intuitive to assert that the Robin Hood ballads and other apparently English/Anglo-Saxon expressions of cultural resistance and assertion of non-Norman identity either owe something to or have something in common with French influence, whether continental or insular. However, ironic as it may be, given the evidence of the texts, that does seem to be the case.

Derivation, Definition, Development

Historical linguists and Anglo-Norman specialists have long argued about the status of the French language in England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The conventional view until recently was that it was dying out and was no longer a living vernacular by the end of the twelfth century. Ad Putter has observed in his study of references to multilingualism in the writings of Gerald of Wales that "Gerald's works suggest that French and, on occasion, Latin were the normal languages of conversation in his circle. They do not show that French had gone the way of Latin by becoming an artificially acquired language."[10] Besides, Jocelyn Wogan Browne and others in the significant 2009 study of Francophone medieval England, *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c.1100–c.1500*, have demonstrated how outdated such a historically and linguistically crude perspective now is, arguing convincingly for a more sophisticated view of multilingual contact and co-existence, and also suggesting the reconciliation of the terms "Anglo-French" and "Anglo-Norman":

> For one thing the idea that post-Conquest Anglo-Saxon texts should be seen as survivals dispossessed by French culture has been challenged by recent work on manuscripts produced in England in the late eleventh to thirteenth centuries ... By the same token, texts in "Anglo-Norman" continued to be produced in the later Middle Ages, even though most uses of the term "Anglo-French" silently omit such texts (2–3).[11]

As Coss observes in his introduction to the Thomas Wright anthology:

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[10] Ad Putter, "Multilingualism in England and Wales, c. 1200: The Testimony of Gerald of Wales," *Medieval Multilingualism: The Francophone World and its Neighbours*, ed. Christopher Kleinhenz and Keith Busby. Medieval Texts and Cultures in Northern Europe, 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 84–105. See also the contributions to the present volume by Richard Ingham and Imogen Marcus.

[11] Wogan Browne, *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain* (see note 3), 2–3.

There was certainly no simple relationship between spoken and written language. One might write in Latin but think in French, or compose in French but think in English. It is true of course, that there was a widespread ignorance of French among the lower orders … . But in the sense that all three languages flourished and interpenetrated, England during this period can properly be said to have been a polyglot society.[12]

The eminent medievalist John Speirs expresses a similar perspective in relation to the language of popular song:

… during the bilingual phase of medieval English society, redactions from French to English were made. We have no right to assume, however, that such redactions were necessarily what we think of as translations, involving the intervention of reading and writing. As poems were made and shaped orally by minstrels, the redactions could be (and possibly often were up to the fourteenth century) made orally … It seems certain that many of the ballads that were collected in the early seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries originated from the medieval minstrels' lays … (69).[13]

Gilbert Reaney has likewise pointed out the linguistic uncertainties of popular song derivation and the lack of written record of an oral tradition in medieval England, but he also notes the pluralistic written contexts for such texts that survive:

Since the Norman Conquest the French language had been in use by the ruling classes in England, and so it is not surprising that few songs with English texts have been found before the fifteenth century. Those that do exist may be found side by side with Latin or French pieces, but at least they often have a character of their own (40).[14]

In his book *The English Traditional Ballad* David Atkinson refers to the conventional Anglophone ballad as "an expansive genre, part of a continuum of folk song with a more or less explicit narrative element."[15] As J. A. Cuddon observes in his literary dictionary definition, "the word derives from the late Latin and Italian *ballare* ("to dance")" and "originally was a musical accompaniment to a dance." It is cognate with the French *ballade* or *balade* which Cuddon identifies

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12 Coss, *Thomas Wright's Political Songs of England* (see note 2), vii.

13 John Speirs, "A Survey of Medieval Verse and Drama," *Medieval Literature: The New Pelican Guide to English Literature* (see note 1), 43–96; here 69.

14 Gilbert Reaney, "The Middle Ages," *A History of Song*, ed. Dennis Stevens (New York: W. W. Norton & Co. 1960), 15–64; here 40. This chapter is particularly useful as an introduction to the musical elements in popular secular and religious song.

15 David Atkinson, *The English Traditional Ballad: Theory, Method, and Practice.* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002, ix

as "an old French verse form popular during the fourteenth and fifteenth centu-
ries, but certainly derived from older Provencal forms."[16] The Provençal form of
ballada, which, according to Matthew Hodgart, incorporated "dance forms and
verses derived from them" in turn influenced the development of the Italian *bal-
lata* and French *balade*. The latter Hodgart characterizes as "one particular and
complex verse form, with rhymes a b a b b c b C, the last line being the refrain."[17]
Hodgart then states: "The word was taken over into English, and the verse-form
much imitated, if not always strictly, in English verse of the 15th century ... ."[18]
While ballades usually consisted of identical line-lengths and comprised three
main stanzas and a final shorter "envoi" (dedication) stanza, some ballades,
as Hodgart points out, alternate four-beat and three-beat duple lines thus metri-
cally resembling the song/poem pattern that we have come to associate with the
ballad

However, as Reaney, writing on the *balades* of Machaut, asserts, the *balade*,
is derived in part from the older French *chanson* tradition of the *lai* (lay) and the
chanson royale of the twelfth century, as composed by Marie de France and
Adam de la Halle. Hodgart (1962) elucidates this derivation in his study.[19] He
also goes on to point out that the ballads

> rest on a verse form which was a break from the Anglo-Saxon tradition [for alliterative, non-
> rhyming verse] and the ballad stories also differ from those of the Anglo-Saxon tradition ...
> the ballads do show a relationship with the Romances of the Middle Ages. Their metrical
> form is of the same kind as that of the Romances in that it belongs to the new fashion

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16 J. A. Cuddon, *Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary* Theory, 3rd edition. London: Penguin,
1991, 77–81.
17 Matthew Hodgart, *The Ballads* (London: Hutchinson, 1950), 18. Hodgart's study of the An-
glophone ballads is one of the most balanced available in terms of acknowledging Francophone
influences on the development of the genre. See also Albert B. Friedman, *The Ballad Revival*
(Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961) for a more general account of ballad develop-
ment and diffusion.
18 Hodgart, *The Ballads* (see note 18), 18.
19 "... during the 13th century a lyric with a fairly intricate stanza and a refrain, which probably
had its origins in the dance, became known as the *ballada* in Provencal and the *ballata* in Ital-
ian. In the fourteenth century it was taken up and developed by the courtly poets of France who
produced what they called the *ballade*. This became fixed as a standard verse-form. It was not
narrative but lyrical, and above all it was sophisticated. The term was taken into the English lan-
guage and gradually lost its precise meaning, until in Elizabethan times it became applied to
various kinds of popular and semi-popular songs, lyric and narrative alike ... It was only in
the eighteenth century that the word "ballad" became applied exclusively to popular narrative
poetry" (Hodgart, *The Ballads* [see note 18], 78).

for syllabic and stanzaic verse. Some of the ballads have the same motifs as the Romances and a few are derived directly from them (75).[20]

Hodgart further clarifies: "The general name of Romance includes several kinds of literature, and of these the ballads are most closely related to the *lais*."[21] The latter of Breton and Celtic origin were adapted into courtly French poetry of the late twelfth century by Marie de France and others, and, as Hodgart notes, some of them share motifs with the *lais*. It is certainly true to say that Breton influences in the cultural cross-pollination between England and France in the Middle Ages were highly significant. Marie de France's Breton tales adapted for the purpose of her *lais*, being a notable instance. Glynn Burgess and Keith Busby have pointed out the close connections that clearly existed between Marie de France's work and the Anglo-Norman cultural context in England:

> Not only were continental works copied by Anglo-Norman scribes, but much literature was also produced by English authors writing originally in Anglo-Norman. It hardly needs pointing out again that the context of Marie's work is at least partly an English one, for whoever she was exactly she was certainly a woman of French descent and upbringing living and working in England ... Her evident knowledge of Old French and Anglo-Norman literature is supplemented by the interest she seems to have taken in the orally circulating tales of her day which she frequently claims as the source of the *lais* (20).[22]

Gwendolyn Morgan, acknowledging the importance of Hodgart's critical perspectives for a clearer understanding of ballad form genesis, while repudiating the notion that domestic Anglophone ballads were in any way inferior versions of the courtly, chivalric genre, stresses that "we should not expect imitation of aristocratic chivalric ideals or motifs, although the romances, *lais* and lyrics often supply the balladeers with sources for stories and motifs"[23] Significantly she does not include the ballade by name, although it may be inferred under the general category "lyric." Assessing the influence of the courtly tradition on the values expressed in the "yeoman ballads," such as those recounting the deeds of Robin Hood, Adam Bell, or Johnnie Cock, she notes the inversion strategy of the balladeers in presenting the Anglo-Saxon yeomen as better models of genuine chivalry than the aristocracy, most of whom would have been of Anglo-

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20 Hodgart, *The Ballads* (see note 18), 75.

21 Hodgart, *The Ballads* (see note 18), 75.

22 Glynn Burgess and Keith Busby, trans., *The Lais of Marie de France* (London: Penguin Books, 1986), 20.

23 Morgan, *Medieval Ballads* (see note 8), 4.

French stock.[24] She argues strongly against the conventional nation-building myth of a golden age of chivalry in England, acknowledging some multilingual sources for a number of the medieval English ballads, while observing that it is difficult to trace sources and derivations with absolute accuracy:

> While the differences between the courtly literatures of England and the continental nations are, no doubt, significant, those manifested in folk poetry are greater still. We can confidently posit foreign sources for only a very few ballads; for a few more, foreign analogues clearly exist but which of a related group represents the original is impossible to say. However, when a ballad appears in more than one language the English version usually exhibits a pessimism and brutality, which are unmatched in the others. The etymology of "Lord Thomas and Fair Annet" provides ample illustration of this tendency. In adopting this tale from the French, the English balladeer stripped away the romantic elements and instituted major plot alterations which allowed it to be reconciled with the bleak English vision (114).[25]

Morgan's example here of one of the earliest English ballads is related to Hodgart's close narrative analysis of the significant variations in the extant versions between the French version and British and Scandinavian adaptations as collected by Child (Child ballad no. 73). The French parallel version of "Fair Annie" entitled "Les Tristes Noces" (a folk ballad still popular today among Francophone audiences) is thought by some to pre-date the Anglophone version, but this was generally contested by other ballad scholars such as Gerould and Gruntvig. A further question of provenance arises through what Hodgart describes as different "families of versions."[26]

Thus, the problem of establishing a clear genealogy of the ballad is exacerbated by the fragmentary nature of available sources and texts, but the material that we do have access to suggests that there was a strong popular tradition for lyrics derived from the courtly style, including the well-known late thirteenth century folk song "Alysoun".[27] As John Stevens observes, popular carols, some

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24 Gwendolyn Morgan, *Medieval Balladry and the Courtly Tradition* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), 83–84.

25 Morgan, *Medieval Balladry and the Courtly Tradition* (see note 25), 114.

26 Hodgart, *The Ballads* (see note 16), 88.

27 This lyric is found in the Harley MS 2253, Lyrics, No. 4 (London, British Library Collection). The importance of the Harley Lyrics as first-hand evidence cannot be under-estimated since, as Derek Pearsall has noted, "of the English religious pieces within the MS itself all but five appear elsewhere, whereas there is no other MS of any of the secular love-poems or political poems," Derek Pearsall, *Old English and Middle English Poetry (The Routledge History of English Poetry)*, vol. 1 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), See now the new bilingual edition, *The Complete Harley 2253 Manuscript*, ed. and trans. by Susanna Fein with David Raybin and Jan Ziol-

of them adapted and redacted from French *chanson d'aventure* and *pastourelle* models were very much in fashion throughout the Middle Ages and, like the songs we now think of as ballads, these popular lyrics tended to feature a burden (*pes* in Anglo-Norman) or refrain.[28]

Two principal factors ensured that the style and ethos of the ballade not only reached thirteenth and fourteenth century England, but also became integrated into the literary and popular imagination prompting English cultural practices. The first was the fact that England and France had had very close ties since the Norman Conquest and the various territorial wars for domination (particularly the Hundred Years' War) that were characteristic of the Middle Ages. This resulted in the widespread use of an educated French vernacular in both spoken and written forms; hence the tremendous influx of Romance language vocabulary into English, as Anglo-Saxon power and influence declined and was supplanted by French. As Richard Ingham has clarified in a recent significant study, Anglo-Norman continued to be acquired by children of more affluent noble and merchant households, and was used for written commercial transactions as late as the end of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth century up to the point at which English gradually began to usurp its functions.[29]

Ballad and *Balade:* Case Study Text Extracts and Discussion

There was a strong concomitant effect of this speech community diversity on poetry and song in England. Regular accentual-syllabic rhymed verse meter appeared in the thirteenth century in France and spread thereafter to England with the earlier known Anglophone ballads, such as "Young Beicham," "Sir Patrick Spens," "Little Musgrave," "Lord Ingram and Chiel Wyet," and "Lord Randall," evincing clear evidence of the spread of the alternating iambic tetrameter/trimeter form that came to characterize ballads for centuries to come. Ironically this accentual-syllabic property of Old French was subsequently lost, as the French language moved towards its present-day phrase-accent pattern. Further, the musical measure, four-beat accentual pattern and phrasing of Anglophone ballads

kowski. Middle English Texts Series. 3 vols. (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2015).

28 Stevens, "Medieval Lyrics and Music," *Medieval Literature: The New Pelican Guide to English Literature* (see note 1), 248–76; here 255–56.

29 Ingham, "Later Anglo-Norman as a Contact Variety of French?" (see note 5), 8–25.

was based fundamentally on the iambic quatrain structure, which was derived from simpler forms that owed much to romance language creative and cultural influences.

One outstanding example of this type of transmission from the more literary romances is the Child ballad no. 17 "Hind Horn," which existed as a late twelfth century Anglo-Norman metrical verse romance (*Le Roman de Horn*) and a Middle English literary adaptation (circa 1225) and as a later Anglo-Norman *chanson de geste*.[30] The ballad version culled from these sources, one of the classic traditional ballads recorded by many ballad interpreters including Ewan MacColl,[31] represents a conflated and greatly abbreviated version of the tale in rhyming octosyllabic couplets, and focusing on Horn's winning of the King's daughter's hand despite his disguise as a beggar. There is clear intercultural and interlinguistic synergy and crossover evident between Francophone and Anglophone verse narratives.

Example i)

a) "The Anglo-Norman Romance of Horn" by Thomas of Kent:

> Seignurs, oi avez le[s] vers del parchemin,
> Cum li bers Aaluf est venuz a sa fin.
> Mestre Thomas ne volt k'il seit mis a declin
> K'il ne die de Horn, le vaillant orphanin,
>
> Cum puis l'unt treit li felun sarasin.
> Un en i ot, guaigna[rt], del lignage Chain –
> En language alfrican l'apelent Malbroin.
> Ci[l] trova primes Horn repuns enz un gardin,

---

30 It subsequently gained enormous appeal through the French variant, *Ponthus et la belle Sidonie* and then the German prose novel *Pontus und Sidonia* (ca. 1450–1460). See *Eleanore von Österreich: Pontus und Sidonia*, ed. Reinhard Hahn. Texte des späten Mittelalters und der fru*hen* Neuzeit, 38 (Berlin:Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1997)

31 Ewan MacColl with A. L. Lloyd, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. Riverside RLP 12–621–8, 1956. 8 LPs issued as 4 volumes plus a single LP of ballads not found in Child (RLP 12–621–9). Also available on CD in a shorter compilation: *Ballads of Murder and Intrigue*. Topic Records Ltd. TSCD576D.

Od lui xv valez ki erent de sun lin –
N' [en] i ot ne fust fiz de bon palain:
Cume seignur serveint tuit Horn, le meschin.[32]

b) "Hind Horn", Scottish ballad extract; Child ballad no. 17a:

In Scotland there was a babie born,
And his name it was called young Hind Horn.
Lilie lal, etc. With a fal lal, etc.
He sent a letter to our king
That he was in love with his daughter Jean.
He's gien to her a silver wand,
With seven living lavrocks[33] sitting thereon.
She's gien to him a diamond ring,
With seven bright diamonds set therein.
When this ring grows pale and wan,
You may know by it my love is gane."[34]

The second later factor was the influence of the major English fourteenth-century poets John Gower and Geoffrey Chaucer, both of whom imported the French-style *balades* to England, the former writing them in Anglo-Norman and the latter in Middle English. Gower's *Cinkante Balades* (dedicated to King Henry IV) and Chaucer's collection of *balades* and *balades royals*, in which most poems consist of three identically rhymed stanzas plus an envoy, are especially significant. This form became standard for *balades* only in the last years of the fourteenth century, influenced especially by the theories and practices of Deschamps and Ma-

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32 The Anglo-Norman text is in the Bodleian Library, MS Douce, 132, fol. 22v. It is estimated to have been composed for Norman aristocrats using the dialect of French common in Britain at this period. The author is identified at the opening of the narrative poem as one, Thomas of Kent. The story was a popular one in other linguistic cultures, and may well have its roots in Celtic tradition. My gloss on the above extract: "Sirs, you have heard the verse record of the death of Aaluf, but Master Thomas doesn't wish that it rests there; he will go on to speak of Horn, his valiant orphan son, and will then relate how the Saracens betrayed him; One of them named Malbroin, in the African language, finding Horn hiding in a garden, with fifteen young men of the same race who served him, took them all prisoner and bound them; but he spared Horn this punishment, for whom he could not help being moved to pity; Malbroin took him and his companions to his King" (my translation/gloss).

33 Scots dialect word for "lark" or "skylark".

34 Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, vol.1 (see note 7), here 201–02.

chaut. Christine de Pizan's popular *Cent Balades d'Amant et de Dame* (a ballade dialogue alternating between a young man and a young woman) was also evidence of the great fashion for the ballade in the early 1390s. In view of the extensive contacts between French and English at this time, there is no doubt that the fashion would certainly have been communicated to both poets and readers in England as well. However, Gower's *balades* are rather ingenious variations on the *fin' amor* French-Italian style and love is less idealized and presented with more quasi-moral observation, while Chaucer's are much more idiosyncratic, humorous and varied in theme, e.g., his "Ballade of Good Counsel" and "Ballade of Gentillesse." Below are extracts from Chaucer and Gower *ballades* respectively for comparison:

Example ii)

Geoffrey Chaucer: "A Ballad of Gentilesse"

> The firste stock-father of gentleness,
> What man desireth gentle for to be,
> Must follow his trace, and all his wittes dress,
> Virtue to love, and vices for to flee;
> For unto virtue longeth dignity,
> And not the reverse, safely dare I deem,
> All wear he mitre, crown, or diademe.
>
> This firste stock was full of righteousness,
> True of his word, sober, pious, and free,
> Clean of his ghost, and loved business,
> Against the vice of sloth, in honesty;
> And, but his heir love virtue as did he,
> He is not gentle, though he riche seem,
> All wear he mitre, crown, or diademe.
>
> Vice may well be heir to old richess,
> But there may no man, as men may well see,
> Bequeath his heir his virtuous nobless;
> That is appropried to no degree,
> But to the first Father in majesty,

Which makes his heire him that doth him queme,
All wear he mitre, crown, or diademe.[35]

Example iii)

John Gower: "Ballade XXII" (extract):

J'ai bien sovent oï parler d'amour,
Mais ja devant n'esprovai la nature
De son estât, mais ore au present jour
Jeo sui cheeuz de soudeine aventure
En la sotie, u jeo languis sanz cure,
Ne sai coment j'en puiss avoir socour,
Car ma fortune est en ce cas si dure,
Q'ore est ma vie en ris, ore est en plour.
...

A vous, tresbelle et bone creature,
Salvant toutdis Testât de vostre honour,
Ceo lettre envoie: agardetz Tescripture,
Q'ore est ma vie en ris, ore est en plour.[36]

As Stevens has asserted, we don't have much knowledge of the music of the medieval era and how music and words would have cohered in performance and oral transmission.[37] J. A. Burrow has also reminded us that

> then, as now, poets could compose songs and ballads in their heads; and longer works, though nearly always written in the first instance, might undergo a degree of recomposition

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35 *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd edition, ed. Larry Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 654.
36 John Gower, *The French Balades* (see note 3), 90–91. "I have very often heard people talk of love / But never before did I experience the nature / Of its state, but now today / I have fallen by sudden chance / Into its stupidity, in which I languish without cure / I know not how I can be succored / Since my fortune is so harsh in this case, / Now my life is in laughter, then in tears. / ... To you, fairest and kind creature / saving always the state of your honor / I send this letter: consider what I write / Now my life is in laughter, then in tears" (my translation).
37 Stevens, "Medieval Lyrics and Music" (see note 26), here 251.

or decomposition in the heads of those who, as they recalled them, would cut and change, and add lines and passages.[38]

In any case, very few English or Anglo-Norman ballad texts are available in conjunction with their musical settings. Those that we know to be composed with corresponding words and music are, as Stevens points out, simple in their settings: "In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries most of the songs in English manuscripts, whether their words are in English, French (i. e., Anglo-Norman), or Latin, are monophonic—that is, they are conceived for a single voice, a single line of melody."[39]

In the French verse tradition the *lai* was a longer narrative poem than the ballade and started to drop out of vogue as the shorter ballade genre became popularized by poet-musicians of the fourteenth century, such as Deschamps and Machaut, who composed *balades* as both short poems and as song lyrics. Significantly, Deschamps used the terms *musique artificiele* and *musique naturele* to refer respectively to *balades* set to music and those without any musical notation. Both *balade* types tend to be lyrical expressions of *fin' amor* and differ from the *lai* inasmuch as there was little narrative content and an emphasis on the first-person, as opposed to the more impersonal narrative of the *lai.* The lack of a rigid distinction between poetry and music is also evidenced by Machaut's song settings of some fifty of his own numerous *balades.* At the same time we should recognize that the highly ornamental melismatic notation and polyphonic setting of the sung *balades* composed by Machaut make them sound utterly unlike any Anglophone monophonic ballad music where the music composer primarily employs syllabic notation, in which each syllable of text is matched to a single note. So too did its primarily modal musical scales which are derived from "secular" medieval modes also employed by continental musicians, as Reaney has indicated in respect of Guillaume de Machaut's set *balades* on the evidence of the manuscripts.[40]

Hodgart refers to folksong collector Cecil Sharp's intuitions about the relationship between words and music: "Sharp thinks that the strophe took this shape under the controlling influence of the metrical structure of the words," but Hodgart himself actually thought that "the converse might equally be

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38 J. A. Burrow, *Medieval Writers and their Work: Middle English Literature and Its Background 1100 – 1500* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 28.

39 Stevens, "Medieval Lyrics and Music" (see note 26), here 249–50.

40 See Reaney, "The Middle Ages," *A History of Song* (see note 14), 47–48; and id., *Machaut.* Oxford Studies of Composers (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 9.

true."[41] Morgan identifies a ballad from the Child anthology "Fair Annie" as of general European provenance, probably related to a *lai* included in the twelfth century collection attributed to Marie de France.

Example iv)

"Fair Annie" –extract (probably based on a *Lai* by Marie de France):

> It's narrow, narrow make your bed
> And learn to lie your lane
> For I'm going over the sea Fair Annie
> A brave bride to bring home
> With her I will get gold and gear
> With you I ne'er got none
>
> 'But who will bake my bridal bread
> Or brew my bridal ale?
> And who will welcome my brisk bride
> That I bring o'er the dale?'
>
> 'It's I will bake your bridal bread
> And brew your bridal ale,
> And I will welcome your brisk bride
> That you bring o'er the dale.'[42]

The *lai* survived into the late Middle Ages; French poet François Villon writing in the mid-fifteenth century employs both *lai* and *balade* verse forms in his work, although his reputation rests principally on the latter. Equally ballad and song texts from this period provide insights into the linguistic and cultural hybridity of the medieval age in England. Moreover, the Italian *ballata* (Cavalcanti, Dante et al.) and French *balade* and *lai* (Machaut, Deschamps, Villon *et al*) enjoyed great vogue in fourteenth and fifteenth century Europe, the *lai* and *balade* being largely derived from the Provençal troubadour tradition. Therefore, given the courtly ballad influence—categorized by Morgan as "romantic ballads and

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41 Hodgart, *The Ballads* (see note 18), 54.
42 Morgan, *Medieval Ballads* (see note 6), 75.

songs of courtly love"[43]—and the prevalence of the French language in the early Middle Ages in educated English circles, it is reasonable to intuit a relationship between two apparently contrasting forms of poetic and musical expression.

Another vital French link in this chain of development and influence comes from the *trouvères*, the Northern French variety of troubadour from the Crusades onward, who sang the C*hansons de Geste*, which were songs of action; in other words, long narrative ballads. Among these are the *Roland*, *Perceval/Parzival* and *Grail* legend compositions, later to be adapted in various forms across Europe. Each one of these was sung to a short formulaic melody, which was performed repetitively excepting variations of endings employed in the episodes. Likewise the emergence and popularity of the secular lyric *ballata* in the cultivated Trecento (thirteenth century) period in Florence and Bologna, which contributed notably to the development of the *fin' amor* style of writing and performance, reflected significant cultural exchange on the continent at this point in time. This was exemplified by poets and composers such as the secular humanist writers/composers Guido Cavalcanti and Francesco Landini, whose *ballate* had strong ties to the French *virelai* form.

The long ballad sequence "A Gest of Robyn Hoode" which appears in Francis Child's influential anthology, and probably dates from the fifteenth century, deploys the heroic motifs of the *chanson de geste* and is more in keeping with the longer French narrative forms than with the typical Anglophone ballad of this period:

Example v)

A Gest of Robyn Hode (extract):

> Lythe and listin, gentilmen
> That be of frebore blode;
> I shall you tel of a gode yeman,
> Hi name was Robyn Hode.
>
> Robyn was a prude outlaw
> Whyles he walked on grounde;
> So curtseye an outlawe as he was one
> Was nevere non founde.

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43 Morgan, *Medieval Ballads* (see note 6), 81.

Robyn stode in Bernesdale,
And lenyd hym to a tre,
And bi hym stode Litell John,
A gode yeman was he.

And alsoo dyd good Scarlock,
And Much the miller's son:
There was none ynch of his bodi
But it was worth a grome.[44]

A pertinent example of the linguistic hybridity and bilingual ethos of the time would be the combination of an untitled twenty-five-stanza Anglo-Norman ballad in four-line rhyming stanzas on the theme of the abuse of legal proceedings following King Edward's so-called "Traillebaston" ordinance. The ballad, written as an expression of defiance and a call to fellow outlaws, evokes a Robin Hood-like scenario "under the greenwood tree" in the unidentified forest of "Beauregard." It is noteworthy that this ballad is the work of an educated author who is well-informed about social and political matters of the day and about the "Purveyaunce" or "Articles of Traillebaston" which have caused the abuses of social justice. Intriguingly this ballad stands adjacent to the old eight-line rhymed English folksong/ballad, "The Man in the Moon" in the Harley Manuscript dating from 1305.[45]

Example vi)

"The Outlaw's Song of Traillebaston", Anglo-Norman Ballad from Harley Manuscript No 2253 (circa 1305):

Talent me prent de rymer et de geste fere
D'une purveyaunce que purveu est en la terre;

---

44 "Hark and listen, gentlemen / That be of free-born blood / I shall tell you of a good yeoman / His name was Robin Hood. / Robin was a proud outlaw / While he walked on the ground / So courteous an outlaw as he was one / Was never any found. / Robin stood in Bernesdale / And leaned him on a tree / And by him stood Little John / A good yeoman was he. / Also did good Scarlet / And Much, the miller's son / There was no inch of his body / That was worthy of a lad," (my translation).

45 MS Harley 2253, British Library.

Mieux valsit uncore que la chose fust a fere:
Si Dieu ne prenge garde, je quy que sourdra guere.

Ce sunt les articles de Traylebastoun;
Salve le roi mesmes, de Dieu eit maleysoun
Que a de primes graunta tiel commissioun
Quar en ascuns des pointz n'est mie resoun
. . . .
Je pri tote bone gent qe pur moi vueillent prier
Qe je pus a mon païs aler e chyvaucher;
Unqe ne fu homicide, certes a moun voler,
Ne mal robberes pur gent damager.

Cest rym fust fet al bois, desouz un lorer,
La chaunte merle, russinole e eyre l'esperver;
Escrit estoit en perchemyn pur mout remenbrer
E gitté en haut chemyn qe um le dust trover.[46]

Other Anglo-Norman ballad-type political songs from the same period also collected by Wright from the Harley MS included "The Song of the King's Taxes" and "The Song of the Barons" and the apparently very popular "Song on the Times" with versions in Middle English, Anglo-Norman and Latin. Another more recent anthology based on Harley that includes song lyrics with ballad elements is I. S. T. Aspin's 1953 collection *Anglo-Norman Political Songs*, from which the untitled "Turberville Ballad," about the alleged turpitude and treason of Sir Thomas de Turberville and his complicity with the French invaders, is a very good example of the political song. The typically balladesque opening couplet has been a clearly recognizable staple of the popular ballad form down the ages:

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46 "I am seized with the desire to rhyme and make a story / of a purveyance which is provided in the land / It would be much better if the thing were still undone. / if God does not avert it I think there will arise war. / It is the articles of Traillebaston / except the King himself – God curse him / whoever first granted such a commission! / for there s little reason in any of its points. / ... I pray all good people that they will pray for me / that I may be able to go and ride to my country / I was never a killer, at least not by design/nor an evil robber to do people harm. / This rhyme was made in the wood beneath a bay-tree / there sings the thrush, the nightingale and the sparrow-hawk cries / it was written on parchment for better remembrance/and cast on the highway that people may find it," Wright's translation in Coss, *Thomas Wright's Political Songs of England* (see note 2), 236

Example vii)

"The Turberville Ballad" (extract):

> Seignurs e dames escutez,
> De un fort tretur orrez
> Ke aveit purveu une treson;
> Thomas Turbelvile [sic] ot a non.
> A Charlys aveit premis,
> E juré par Seint Denys,
> Ke il li freit tute Engletere
> Par quentise e treson conquere.
> E Charles li premist grant don,
> Teres e bon garison.
> Li treitre a Charlis dit
> Ke il aparillast sanz respite
> De bone nefs grande navie,
> E de gent forte conpaignie,
> E il le freit par tens garner
> Ou il dussent ariver
> En Engleter sodeinement.
> Li traiture sanz targement
> En Engletere tot se mit.
> Au rei sire Edewars vint e dist:[47]

As Aspin points out in his notes,[48] the author may have confused the identities of Charles of Valois, who negotiated with the alleged English traitor and subject of the ballad Thomas de Turberville, and the French king, his brother Philippe. Thus, not only is the perspective of the song a primarily English one, but also the apparent uncertainty about who was on the French throne reveals this as

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47 "Lords and Ladies hark / and you will hear of a bold traitor / who had conceived treason / He had the name of Thomas Turbelvile [sic] / He had promised Charles / and sworn by Saint Denis / that he would make all England / conquered by his treachery and treason / And Charles promised him great reward / lands and military protection. / The traitor said to Charles / that he would make ready without delay / a big fleet of goodly ships, / and in company with a military force / and would prepare them for a time / when they should arrive in England suddenly. / The traitor without delay / prepared everything. / He came to good King Edward and said" (my translation).

48 *Anglo-Norman Political Songs*, ed. Aspin (see note 4), 51.

a Francophone English ballad, in other words, an Anglo-Norman one. Significantly, the events narrated date from the late Edwardian period when Anglo-Norman was, as Wright's anthology indicates, in regular usage.

Example viii)

"A Prisoner's Prayer" appears in bilingual versions in Carleton Brown's collection of *English Lyrics from the Thirteenth Century* as well as in Aspin's *Anglo-Norman Political Songs*, and is taken from the Guildhall Manuscript,[49] in which it appears in both Anglo-Norman and English versions together with music. In its rhyme-scheme variations in both Anglo-French and early Middle English it can be seen as anticipating later metrical and formal developments in the ballad, although its lyrical plaintive tone and lack of narrative make it appear less ballad-like and perhaps more anticipatory of the ballades of Villon several centuries later. In the song the prisoner laments his wrongful conviction, and prays to God to deliver him and his companions from their plight.

"A Prisoner's Prayer"; Guildhall MS, 1189–1274 (extract):

Eyns ne soy ke pleynte fu;
Ore pleyn d'angusse tressu.
Trop ai mal et contreyre,
Sanz decerte en prisun sui.
Car m'aydez tres puis, Jhesu,
Duz Deus et deboneyre!

Jhesu Crist, veirs Deu, veirs hom,
Prenge vus de mei pité!
Jetez mei de la prison
U je sui a tort geté.
Jo e mi autre compaignun–
Deus en set la verité–

---

49 MS Guildhall, known as *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* is in The British Library. The bilingual text in Anglo-Norman and Middle English of the 'Prisoner's Prayer' is accompanied by the musical notation.

Tut pur autri mesprisun
Sumes a hunte liveré.

Ar ne kuthe ich sorghe non;
Nu ich mot manen min mon.
Karful wel sore ich syche,
Geltles ich tholye muchele schame.
Help, God, for thin swete name,
Kyng of hevene-riche!

Jesu Crist, sod God, sod man,
Loverd, thu rew upon me.
Of prisun thar ich in am
Bring me ut and makye fre.
Ich and mine feren sume–
God wot, ich ne lyghe noct–
For othre habbet misnome,
Ben in thys prisun ibroct.[50]

Example ix)

The anonymous early French ballad, "La Chasse," translated by Andrew Lang and entitled, "The Milk White Doe," employs many recognizable motifs of the ballad form in theme and style in its metaphors of hunting and chasing as well as in its sexual tension and taboo between siblings. The ballad begins with a mother asking her daughter why she is so sad, and the girl replies:

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50 "Once I knew no sorrow / Now I must express my anguish / Full of care and sorrow I sigh / Guiltless I suffer great shame / Help, God, for your sweet name / O King of Heaven / Jesus Christ, true God, true man / Lord, have mercy on me / From this prison I am in / Bring me out and make me free. / I and some companions- / God knows I am not lying- / Have been mistaken for others / And brought into this prison," (my translation/gloss—note there are variations of locution between the AN and the ME versions). See also 'Ar ne kuth ich sorghe non—The Prisoner's Song'—*Delectation Angeli: Music of Longing and Lament*, CDA67549 Hyperion, for recorded performance.

"La Chasse/ The Milk White Doe" (extract)[51]:

For ever in the good daylight
A maiden may I go,
But always on the ninth midnight
I change to a milk white doe.

They hunt me through the green forest
With hounds and hunting men;
And ever it is my fair brother
That is so fierce and keen.

And three times they have hunted her,
And thrice she's run away;
The fourth time that they follow her
That white doe they shall slay.

Example x)

Another highly pertinent and persuasive example of Francophone interaction with the Anglophone ballad form is the collection of ballads on "Sir Hugh" (in Percy's *Reliques*[52] and Child's anthology) and "Little Sir Hugh" in *Jamieson's Popular Ballads.*[53] An 1834 French-English collaborative publication entitled *Hugues de Lincoln and Hugh of Lincoln – Recueil de Ballades Anglo-Normande et Ecossaises Relatives au Meurtre de cet Enfant commis par les Juifs en MCCLV* collates the various Scottish and English variant ballads, together with the

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51 Andrew Lang, *Ballades and Verses Vain* (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1884), 157, and Andrew Lang *Ballads and Lyrics of Old France* (BiblioLife, 2009, reprint), 41–42; here 189. Also available online at http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/45173 (last accessed on Oct 1, 2015)

52 Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, ed. Nick Groom, 3 vols. (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1996). Percy's collection contained 180 ballads in 3 volumes of 3 sections each. In spite of Percy's cavalier attitude and considerable license in editing, the anthology was hugely successful and inspired the literary poetic ballads of Coleridge, Wordsworth and others in the following century, as well as the more rigorous approach to ballad scholarship, collection and editing of Francis Child.

53 Robert Jamieson, *Popular Ballads and Songs from Tradition, Manuscripts and Scarce Editions*. Vols. I and II (Read Books Design, 2004 and 2010, reprints.) Also available online at https://archive.org/details/popularballadsa02jamigoog (last accessed on Oct. 1, 2015).

Anglo-Norman ballade dating from the reign of Henry III. A typical tale of alleged blood libel and prejudice seeking to justify anti-Judaic persecution and pogroms— depressingly familiar practice in Middle Ages Europe—"Sir Hugh, or the Jew's Daughter" is written in standard ballad stanzas in both Anglo-Norman and Scottish versions; the Anglo-Norman version consists of identically rhymed four-line stanzas, like the "Traillebaston" ballad and appears, according to the editor, Francisque Michel, to be contemporary with the events it relates,[54] and therefore the forerunner of these Anglophone ballads. Michel asserts: "Nous avons donné a cette pièce le nom de Balade parce qu'il représente mieux qu tout autre la croyance où nous sommes qu'elle fut chantée en Angleterre pendant un temps plus ou moins long … nous donnons à ce mot le sens qu'il a en anglais."[55]

Pertinently, in the light of this chapter's central thesis, Michel goes on to argue that the term *balade* in French goes back to the late thirteenth century, since the MS also contains an anonymous poem in octosyllabic rhymed quatrains. He also rejects the long-standing idea that the form was introduced to French versification during the reign of Charles V ("the Wise").

a) "Hugues de Lincoln/Hugo de Lincolnia" (extract)[56]:

Ore oez un bel chancon
Des Jues de Nichole,[57] qui par treison
Firent la cruel occasion
De un enfant que Huchon out non.

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54 "La ballade Anglo-Normande que nous publions se trouve dans le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque royale, no. 7268 fol. 135. Comme lui, elle parait contemporaine de l'evènement qu'elle célèbre ..." ("The Anglo-Norman ballad which we publish here is found in the MS no.7268 fol. 135 of the Royal Library. Like the MS it appears contemporary with the event it recounts"—my translation). *Hugues de Lincoln and Hugh of Lincoln – Recueil de Ballades Anglo-Normande et Ecossaises Relatives au Meurtre de cet Enfant commis par les Juifs en MCCLV*, ed. Francisque Michel (Paris: Silvestre and London: Pickering, 1834), vii.

55 "We have given this piece the name 'balade' because it represents better than any other piece our belief that it was sung in England over quite a long period … we have given the word ['balade'] the sense it has in English," *Hugues de Lincoln and Hugh of Lincoln – Recueil de Ballades Anglo-Normande et Ecossaises* (see note 53), viii.

56 This original Anglo-Norman ballad version was not included in the Percy, Jamieson, Pinkerton or Motherwell ballad collections in which the English and Scottish versions of the ballad appear. See also Karl Heinz Göller's critical, informative article, "Sir Hugh of Lincoln – From History to Nursery Rhyme" *Jewish Life and Jewish Suffering as Mirrored in English and American*

En Nicholela riche cité
Dreit en Dernestal, l'enfant fui né
De Peitevin le Ju fu emblé
A la glue de aust, en un vesper.

b) "Sir Hugh and The Jew's Daughter" (extract)—in Child, 155

Four and twenty bonny boys
Were playing at the ba,
And by it came him sweet Sir Hugh,
And he playd oer them a'.

He kickd the ba with his right foot,
And catchd it wi' his knee,
And throuch-and-thro the Jew's window
He gard the bonny ba flee.

He's doen him to the Jew's castell,
And walkd it round about;
And there he saw the Jew's daughter,
At the window looking out.

"Throw down the ba, ye Jew's daughter,
Throw down the ba to me!"
"Never a bit," says the Jew's daughter,
"Till up to me come ye."

Certainly Michel's valuable inter-linguistic intervention on the comparable versions of this very old ballad concerning thirteenth century events encourages the contemporary scholar to be skeptical about the assumptions and myths of certain strains of tendentious monolingual and monocultural English ballad scholarship. The Anglo-Norman provenance of this and other 'English' ballads

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Literature, ed. Franz Link. Beiträge zur englischen und amerikanischen Literatur, 6 (Paderborn, Munich, et al.: Schöningh, 1987). (For more explicit historical background information see online at: epub.uni-regensburg.de/27344/1/ubr13573_ocr.pdf (last accessed on Oct. 1, 2015).

57 "Nichole" was the Anglo-Norman name for Lincoln, and Dernestal—named after a village in Normandy—was the Anglo-Norman name for the quarter of Lincoln where little Sir Hugh was purportedly born

suggests a far closer relationship between Francophone and Anglophone versions than has been fully recognized to date.

Conclusions: 'Lyric-Narrative – The Invention of Tradition'

In general, therefore, we may reflect that a continental conception of a broadly lyrical ballad was still the norm at the end of the fourteenth century in England. Other songs we now term ballads would have been considered as simply "folk songs." A. L Lloyd has observed how the courtly poet-musicians and itinerant minstrels of the feudal age either gradually died out to be replaced by more localized yeoman minstrels or became assimilated into rural and urban communities, reflecting the great shifts in class structure that took place in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[58] He also implies in his study how the fierce debate between respective advocates of high culture and folk culture origins for the ballads is somewhat overplayed: "Most likely, in the case of our earlier romantic ballads at least, the repertory is of mixed origin, with a fair proportion made by members of the upper class and just as many made by commoners in town and country."[59]

In this context Morgan makes a very apposite point about the way that the courtly idealization of often doomed or frustrated love as a topos was subverted in its appropriation by more plebeian singers and came to express a radically different ideology and sensibility, sometimes sardonic or cynical in tone. She refers to the important phenomenon by which the themes and stylized conventions of the more highbrow genres, especially related to love, honor and poignant death, tended to gravitate toward deception and harsh or unjust punishment in demotic variations and adaptations.[60] This represents a process of assimilation and ap-

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58 Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* (see note 2), 144. Lloyd's account in ch. 1 of the "Foundations of Folk Song," in ch. 2 the "Songs of Ceremony and Occasion," and in ch. 3, "The Big Ballads" are particularly illuminating and, like the more recent studies of Gwendolyn Morgan (see note 25) and David Atkinson, *The English Traditional Ballad: Theory, Method and Practice* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2002), reaffirm the popular cultural value of the ballad, in sharp distinction to the dismissive and patronizing tone of certain nineteenth century commentators such as Andrew Lang (see also note 51) in his Critical Introduction to the English Ballad in T. H. Ward, ed., *The English Poets.* Vol. 1: *Chaucer to Donne, Selections with Introductions by Various Writers* (London: Macmillan, 1880), available online at http://www.bartleby.com/337/67.html (see note 50).
59 Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* (see note 2), 149.
60 Morgan, *Medieval Balladry and the Courtly Tradition* (see note 25), 45–46.

propriation on the part of the common folk who gradually commandeered, partook of and ultimately shaped the ballad culture as we conceive of it today.

A further observation I would add to Lloyd's and Morgan's arguments is that the type of bilingual political song referred to in the present chapter, which may be deemed "an outlaw ballad" or "protest ballad," can be seen as a forerunner of the satirical broadside ballad type that was to reach its apogee in later centuries.

The late fourteenth century saw the beginnings of a recognizable cultural tradition of English language creative writing, as epitomized by Langland and Chaucer. Whilst it is inappropriate to regard this process of cultural development as being directly linked to the emergence of an Anglophone ballad genre, there is no doubt that cultural heterogeneity and cosmopolitanism, not national homogeneity and monoculture, were characteristic of the period. Despite the increasing respectability of English language poets and the English vernacular, Latin and Anglo-Norman remained prevalent in what must have been a remarkable era in terms of a linguistically plural cultural ecology.

The influence of nascent secular humanism in England, as Renaissance ideas spread from Italy and France, is also relevant to our understanding of these developments. The superstition associated with earlier folklore and folk tales and heroic epics, and to some extent Catholic teachings and authority, came to be increasingly challenged, and romantic ballads reflect this growing sense of the individual as concept. Folk ballads continued to employ mystic elements derived from folkloric superstition, but the practicalities of everyday life, such as for a man to find a wife or a woman a husband, or with various other social problems, came more and more to predominate in respect of subject-matter.

Furthermore, the "trickle-down" effect, induced by the end of feudalism during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and marked by the shifts of social power and class structures resulting in part from The Black Death and other phenomena, played a significant part. The consequent loss of aristocratic employment of former minstrels and singers tended to bring more sophisticated song forms to lower class communities. These were often adapted and simplified into four-line alternating tetrameter and trimeter stanzas with regular rhyme schemes, as is evident in the kind of ballads that have survived through the various oral traditions, broadsides and printed anthologies.

Clearly such songs became integrated into communal folklore repertory to produce new forms with content and form reflective of a range of influences, but with ideology and tone becoming essentially demotic. Perhaps an analogy with the Catholic Church-sanctioned medieval mystery play and the ancient folk mummers' play is pertinent here. Like the local mummers' play, burlesque and often pre-Christian in spirit, if not necessarily in subject-matter, the folk bal-

lad could be seen as a reinvention or appropriation of the more genteel, socially elevated musical-poetic forms of the courtly chivalrous ballads, romances and lays.

Shakespeare makes various inclusions of and references to ballads in his plays, including an allusion to the lover's "woeful ballad made to his mistress' eyes" in the famous soliloquy from *As You Like It*.[61] The "woeful ballad" referred to here is unlikely to be of the "Sir Patrick Spens" variety, but rather more like the sung lyrical form that typifies the courtly romance ballads derived from French and Italian source influences such as the *fin' amor* balades. Obviously, Shakespeare's interpretation of the by-then-popular folk genre did not exclude this kind of lyrical romantic ballad. As Gwendolyn Morgan points out, Walter Raleigh in his response to Marlowe's pastoral lyric "The Passionate Shepherd to his Love," adapted "the ballad form as a vehicle for parody, combining classical pastoral with native English folk traditions,"[62] which suggests lyrical, personal songs could also be termed ballads, rather as in today's popular musical terminology.

The fact that Shakespeare's heroine Helen in *All's Well that Ends Well* also employs the collocation "the odious ballad"[63] indicates that, together with the lyric or narrative ballad, the burlesque, scurrilous type was already an established part of the ballad repertory. All of this suggests an inclusive usage of the term "ballad" in Shakespeare's time to mean different types of song, both lyric and narrative, a view supported by evidence from his plays. Anglophone ballads, in the stricter sense of the folkloric genre and tradition, e.g. outlaw ballads and domestic ballads, were of course categorized and classified retrospectively by collectors and folk historians, especially Percy and Child.

As commentators like Ker,[64] Hodgart and Lloyd have argued, the ballad is necessarily both a lyrical and a narrative phenomenon—lyrical because it is a song lyric—but not lyrical in the more modern poetic definition of the word. Besides, we may consider the rustic, communal folk ballad beloved by folklorists something of a nineteenth century invention on the part of ballad and folk song collectors, and perhaps also a teleological reconstruction of what has become a ballad "tradition," one set in stone by the monumental, but also monu-

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61 William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, *The Oxford Shakespeare*, ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), vol. II: 7–148.

62 Morgan, *Medieval Ballads* (see note 6), 212.

63 William Shakespeare, *All's Well that Ends Well* in *The Oxford Shakespeare* (see note 52), vol. II: 7–148 (see note 61).

64 William Ker, *On the History of the Ballads 1100–1500* (New York: Folcroft Library Editions, 1977; original edition 1910).

mentalizing, contribution of Francis Child and his followers. Such reconstructive historical approaches tend to celebrate the "triumph of the English language" and the notion of communal and demotic creativity among rural folk communities.

However, the early ballad's continental and Anglo-Norman connections have been largely smothered in this process of revisionism, consistent with the way that the development of the English language from the late fourteenth century onward has been greatly narrativized and oversimplified by English historians. Eric Hobsbawm's and Terence Ranger's critical study *The Invention of Tradition* explores this phenomenon well.[65] One chapter by Hugh Trevor-Roper, which illustrates how the Scottish Celtic tradition was constructed by Walter Scott and others in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is most illuminating in this connection.

To sum up, the diffusion of ballads in England in the medieval period presents a complex and diverse picture. Ballads traveled more widely than is sometimes supposed by the nostalgic national folklorists. The implication of this idea is that there was a far more vibrant cultural exchange and reciprocal influence in the Middle Ages than is often acknowledged by some Anglophone ballad scholars and enthusiasts.[66] As I have argued in the present chapter, there was a significant degree of cultural reciprocity and language contact between nations and states in Europe, a state of affairs in which the genesis of the Anglophone ballad certainly shared.[67]

Indeed in many ways the Anglo-Norman lyrics, as manifested in political songs, whether patriotic or dissident in tenor, can be seen as the bridge that links the traditional courtly verse narrative with the more topical and socially engaged street ballads and broadsides circulating from the sixteenth century onwards. Francophone language and cultural practice were no longer immediately

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65 Hugh Trevor-Roper, Chapter Two, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 15–42.

66 My abstract (advancing the hypothesis expounded at greater length in the present chapter) to the Forty First International Ballad Conference of the Kommission für Volksdichtung in Faro, Portugal in 2011 was greeted with notable skepticism by one reviewer of abstracts for proposed papers. This chapter has its roots in the paper given at that conference. In view of some authoritative, but entrenched, attitudes and an under-developed comparativist discourse with respect to the ballad form, I must acknowledge that such initial skepticism was understandable, though perhaps somewhat blinkered.

67 See the various contributions in *Medieval Multilingualism: the Francophone World and its Neighbours* (see note 10), for an extended and illuminating treatment of the subject of multilingual contexts in the Middle Ages.

discernible in these subsequent metamorphoses, and even the term "ballad" came to be seen, in the light of the gradual ascendancy of the English language from the early modern period onward, as an essentially vernacular locution. But even if the provenance of what is considered a distinct ballad genre is now obscured by its posterity, it would be chauvinistic to ignore the multilingualism and shared cultural heritage at the heart of this dynamic and protean popular form of expression.

Albrecht Classen (The University of Arizona, Tucson)
Multilingualism in Medieval Europe

Pilgrimage, Travel, Diplomacy, and Linguistic Challenges.
The Case of Felix Fabri and His Contemporaries

Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages

This study consists of several parts. At first, continuing with my investigations in
the introduction to this volume and picking up where Ken Mondschein has let off
in his contribution, I will first discuss one more time the phenomenon of multi-
lingualism in the Middle Ages, adding much further evidence. Then I will turn to
the primary documentary material for this article, the pilgrimage account by
Felix Fabri. Finally, I will examine the further evidence provided by his contem-
porary, Arnold von Harff.

While previous scholars have often tended to overemphasize the vast contrast
between the medieval and the modern world in terms of mentality, social and
legal structures, and political and economic organization,[1] we continuously dis-
cover a wide variety of aspects which demonstrate that those difference were not
at all that huge or relevant and that people in the Middle Ages had to deal with
many of the same problems as we do today. Granted, much of the fundamental
framework and the cultural-historical conditions have certainly changed since
then, but not the issues commonly at stake on a daily basis. The way how medi-
eval people interpreted their own world intellectually, religiously, or spiritually
might be a good benchmark to outline the characteristic features of that society,
but on a pragmatic level, dealing with everyday issues, the premoderns were

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[1] Hans Robert Jauss, *Alterität und Modernität der mittelalterlichen Literatur: Gesammelte Auf-
sätze 1956–1976* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1977), with a focus on the aesthetic pleasure which
this alterity of medieval literature creates in modern readers interested in that age; see also the
contributions to *Latinity and Alterity in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Yasmin Annabel Haskell.
Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 30 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010). For a
number of very specific, at times even grotesque cases that illustrate this alterity directly, see
Darren Oldridge, *Strange Histories: The Trial of the Pig, the Walking Dead, and Other Matters of
Fact from the Medieval and Renaissance Worlds* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

quite similar to us today.[2] Interaction and communication among people, for instance, were problems as much then as they continue to be today.[3] Most people do not speak more than their own mother tongue, unless they have undergone a thorough education process, but at the same time we can discover a wide range of linguistic interconnectivity and exchange. While Latin was the learned *lingua franca* then, English could be identified as the most commonly spoken language today (French in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). The need to communicate was just as urgent then as it is today, and the conflicts and problems that existed then often sound very similar to those that we have to face in our times.

Despite a recent trend among medieval historians to reemphasize the alterity of the past age, I strongly suggest not to throw out the proverbial baby with the bath water and to perceive intellectual barriers were there are none. Belief in monsters or miracles, for instance, might be a matter of the past, but we do have our own myths and urban legends today, and the faithful continue to worship the same figures and embrace the same ideals as in the Middle Ages and beyond.[4]

The Middle Ages and early modern age, just as today, were filled with tensions when people could not understand each other, often simply because of linguistic barriers. French, for instance, was simply a foreign language for German speakers already then, and people needed translators to communicate with each other across the linguistic divide. The Cistercian prior and famous author of the

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2 For a good outline of the difference to us today, such as concerning the gender relationship, the attitude toward sexuality, concept of time, or the system of government, see now Peter Dinzelbacher, *Lebenswelten des Mittelalters 1000–1500* (Badenweiler: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Bachmann, 2010). The extent to which, however, many medieval religious authors and philosophers continue to appeal to us today because of the fundamental wisdom of their teachings, makes us pause to wonder. See Krijn Pansters, *Franciscan Virtue: Spiritual Growth and the Virtues in Franciscan Literature and Instruction of the Thirteenth Century.* Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 161 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012).

3 I have discussed this previously in Albrecht Classen, *Verzweiflung und Hoffnung: Die Suche nach der kommunikativen Gemeinschaft in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters.* Beihefte zur Mediaevistik, 1 (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2002), both from a modern-theoretical point of view (especially Jürgen Habermas) and in light of numerous medieval literary examples. See also my survey study on this topic, "Kommunikation im Mittelalter," *Europäische Mentalitätsgeschichte*, ed. Peter Dinzelbacher (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1993), 370–90. 2nd ed. (2008), 424–47.

4 For a critical discussion of this issue, see Paul Friedman and Gabrielle Spiegel, "Medievalism Old and New: The Rediscovery of Alterity in North American Medieval Studies," *The American Historical Review* 103 (1998): 677–704. See also Caroline Walker Bynum, "Miracles and Marvels: The Limits of Alterity," *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Franz J. Felten and Nikolas Jaspert. Berliner historische Studien, 31; Ordensstudien, 13 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999), 799–817.

Dialogus miraculorum (ca. 1188–1198), Caesarius of Heisterbach, reports, for instance, in one of his miracle tales about a learned man about to join the Cistercian Order: "When he heard this he made his submission; and because he was well skilled in both French and German, he was appointed the abbot's interpreter [i.e., Bernard of Clairvaux's]."[5] In another tale we hear of an Englishman called Richard who works in the Premonstratensian monastery of Arnsburg as a scribe, copying countless books for the monastic library. The miracle related here pertains to this scribe's spiritual reward for his hard labor because after his death he is buried in an honorable grave. Twenty years later, when that grave is opened, the body is wasted away, of course, but the worthy hand has stayed fresh and healthy (vol. II, 334–35; book 12, no. 47). Caesarius does not even reflect further on the linguistic situation, does not comment on Richard's different mother tongue, probably because he communicated with his fellow brothers in Latin. Nevertheless, he still originated from England and died in Germany, which underscores how much the world of medieval monasticism—at least the preaching orders (friars)—did not know national boundaries and made it possible for people from many different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds to move around and join convents far away from their home countries.

What did all that mean especially in the context of contacts between West and East, i.e., when Western travelers made their way to the Middle East and further on to China or Japan, such as Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, William of Rubruck, or Marco Polo? How did communication function at those times, especially beyond the boundaries of Europe, i.e., the Indo-European languages? Merchants certainly roamed through huge territories in their search of products and markets, and obviously managed to trade with many different vendors and buyers speaking different languages.[6] Knights found services at many courts or in military campaigns all over Europe. Scholars and artists did not know national or linguistic barriers in the Middle Ages, even though most people embraced a

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5 Fritz Wagner, "Caesarius von Heisterbach," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Vol. 2.7 (Munich and Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1983), 1363–65; Ludger Tewes, "Der Dialogus Miraculorum des Caesarius von Heisterbach: Beobachtungen zum Gliederungs- und Werkcharakter," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 79.1 (1997): 13–30.See now also the article in *Wikipedia* with good bibliographical references: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caesarius_von_Heisterbach (last accessed on April 1, 2013). For the original text, see now Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum, Dialog über die Wunder*, trans. and commentary by Nikolaus Nösges and Horst Schneider. Zweisprachige Neuausgabe christlicher Quellentexte aus Altertum und Mittelalter, 86.1–5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009); for a biographical sketch, see vol. I, 45–50.
6 Michael Borgolte, "Kommunikation – Handel, Kunst und Wissenstausch," *Weltdeutungen und Weltreligionen 600 bis 1500*, ed. Johannes Fried and Ernst-Dieter Hehl. WEB Welt-Geschichte, III (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010), 17–56; here 39–50.

specific political identity, either associating themselves with the territorial lord or even with a national entity (French vs. English, German vs. Italian, etc.).

The only true and often insurmountable challenge proved to be the difference between Christianity and Islam, and by that same token the difference between any of the European languages and Arabic.[7] We know of a number of European scholars who embarked on the study of Arabic in order to translate the Qu'ran, such as Robert of Ketton (ca. 1110–ca. 1160), Ramon Llull (ca. 1232–ca. 1315), and Juan de Segovia (d. ca. 1458). But they were the exceptions, and the connections between both worlds remained rather thin throughout the entire Middle Ages, here disregarding some political, diplomatic contacts.[8] Recent scholars have also pointed out a certain degree of influence of Arabic art works and styles on their Christian contemporaries; the same applies to philosophy, the sciences, and especially medicine.

Geographers on both sides of the cultural, religious, and linguistic divide apparently knew more about the other world than we have assumed previously. Many of these exchanges were possible because of an intensive translation process, but we must also assume that there were more individuals living in Andalusia and Southern Italy/Sicily, for instance, who were bilingual and could communicate with each other using either Latin/Italian or Arabic respectively.[9] To

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7 See the contributions to *Travellers, Intellectuals, and the World Beyond Medieval Europe*, ed. James Muldoon. The Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000–1500, 10 (Farmham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010).

8 See the contributions to *Frühe Koranübersetzungen: Europäische und außereuropäische Fallstudien*, ed. Reinhold F. Glei. Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium, 88 (Trier: WT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2012); Bruce Lawrence, *The Qur'an: A Biography* (New York: Grove Press, 2006); Thomas E Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560*. Material Texts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). As to political contacts in the early Middle Ages, see Richard Fletcher, *The Cross and the Crescent: Christianity and Islam from Muhammed to the Reformation* (London: Penguin, 2002).

9 Nizar F. Hermes, *The [European] Other in Medieval Arabic Literature and Culture: Ninth-Twelfth Century AD*. New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); *Wissen über Grenzen: arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter*, ed. Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener. Miscellanea mediaevalia, 33 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006). See also *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub and Richard J. A. Talbert. The Ancient World—Comparative Histories (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010). John Tolan, Henry Laurens, and Gilles Veinstein, with a foreword by John L. Esposito, *Europe and the Islamic World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), esp. Tolan, "Saracens and *Ifranj:* Rivalries, Emulation, and Convergences," 87–93; for the translation efforts, 100–01. See also the contribution to *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 14 (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013).

what extent European art, literature, or philosophy might have influenced the Muslim cultures, still seems very difficult to answer, although there is extensive evidence that European travelers encountered sufficient numbers of Saracens, as the Europeans called them, who knew foreign languages and thus could function as important guides and even translators.[10]

The pilgrim monk Thietmar, for instance, writes in his *Liber Peregrinationis*, covering the years 1217 and 1218, that he began his journey "from Acre with certain Syrians and Saracens through the land of Zebulum and Naphtali."[11] On his way from Nazareth he passed near Cana of Galilei and learned an important piece of religious information: "And a certain Saracen told me that the cistern from which was drawn the water that was turned into wine, still contains water having the flavour of wine" (96). When he had reached the Mount Tabor, he ran into a nobleman engaged in the hunt with falcons who immediately entered into a detailed discussion about the condition in the Holy Roman Empire, demonstrating not only in-depth knowledge, but obviously also a certain degree of linguistic skills, unless a translator was involved, of whom Thietmar says nothing: "He inquired diligently, as if an expert, about the state of the empire and the emperor, the Christian kings and the state of our lands, and continuing to ask questions before he had even received an answer he so defined and thoroughly instructed me what he desired to be told about that each separate item made itself better and truer than I then knew" (97).[12]

In other words, all medieval travelers who left reports about their experiences can serve as important testimonies regarding multilingual conditions, knowledge of foreign languages, and individuals' abilities to communicate with their social environment. But multilingualism can mean many different things and many different levels of language expertise both then and today.[13] For pragmatic

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10 Laura Minervini, "Les contacts entre indigènes et croisés dans l'Orient latin: Le rôle des drogmans," *Romanica Arabica: Festschrift für Reinhold Kontzi zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Jens Lüdtke (Tübingen: Narr, 1996), 57–62.

11 *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291*, ed. Denys Pringle. Crusade Texts in Translation (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 96. See also *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: A Reader*, ed. Brett Edward Whalen (Toronto and Tonawanda, NY: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

12 Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem* (see note 11), 97, note 12, suspects that this noble castellan might have been the 'amīr usām al-Dīn Lū'lū ibn 'Abdallāh al-Mu'aamī, whose signature or name commonly appears on the walls of the local buildings.

13 See, for example, Claire Kramsch, "Authenticity and Legitimacy in Multilingual SLA," *Critical Multilingual Studies* 1.1 (2012), online at: http://cms.arizona.edu/index.php/multilingual/article/view/9/27 (last accessed on Sept. 27, 2015). She is centrally concerned with the question what multilingualism does to an individual's identity and self-awareness.

purposes, here I do not insist on a narrow definition of that phenomenon and assume that any individual who could or can operate with at least two, if not three, languages clearly separate from each other somewhat represents a multilingual speaker. This also includes a variety of other modes of communication, since people are certainly capable of resorting to a variety of gestures, symbolic objects, mimicry, and images to convey their ideas and messages to the other person. But true multilingualism still requires a fairly high level of competence in several languages, which has apparently always been a rather rare phenomenon,[14] though I suspect that the situation in the Middle Ages, at least among the intellectual elite, might have been somewhat different since the learned were raised bilingual anyway and could hence easily pick up a third or a fourth language.

The Foreign and Not So Unfamiliar Middle Ages in Linguistic Terms

In order to highlight the specific conditions and circumstances how individuals coped in multilingual contexts, especially in the Holy Land, I want to examine in this paper the phenomenon of fifteenth-century pilgrimage accounts and focus especially on one of the most famous, most extensive, and most detailed one, composed by Felix Fabri, his *Evagatorium* as to its information regarding clashes of languages and the question how individual Europeans managed to cope in the medieval Middle East during the fifteenth century.[15] Pilgrimage was, after all, almost by default, a phenomenon intimately associated with various forms of multilingualism already in the Middle Ages because it forced people out of their fa-

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14 Adrian Blackledge and Angela Creese, *Multilingualism: A Critical Perspective*. Advances in Sociolinguistics (London and New York: Continuum, 2010); *Multilingualism at Work: From Policies to Practices in Public, Medical and Business Settings*, ed. Bernd Meyer and Birgit Apfelbaum. Hamburg Studies on Multilingualism, 9 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co., 2010); Sheena Gardner and Marilyn Martin-Jones, *Multilingualism, Discourse, and Ethnography*. Routledge Critical Studies in Multilingualism, 2 (New York: Routledge, 2012); for insights we can gain from medieval literary evidence, see Albrecht Classen, "Multilingualism in Late-Medieval Poetry," *Komparatistik. Mitteilungen 1996. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft* (Dresden: Dresden University Press, 1996), 44–69.
15 Significantly, Brett Edward Whalen, ed., *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages* (see note 11), includes, for the late Middle Ages, mostly German pilgrimage authors, apart from Margery Kempe and Thomas More (as a commentator).

miliar environment and catapulted them into a new world where they often had to deal with a foreign language.[16]

To lay the foundation for our investigation, let us first clear the stage of some of the common myths about the premodern world the foundations of which have been undermined only recently, although scholarship will have to go a long way still to solidify a new paradigm. In dramatic contrast to traditional concepts about the Middle Ages, people were not simple stationary and did not hardly moved, being bound to the land of their lords, forced to stay in their monasteries, or limited to the court of a baron. Even though a strong majority of people certainly knew hardly anything about the world beyond the local horizon, recent research has convincingly demonstrated that medieval people were very much on the move and traversed many different countries, exploring vast numbers of cultural, linguistic, religious, and political entities. It would be risky, of course, to elaborated on some statistical figures here, but apart from the peasant class members of virtually every estate traveled much and covered vast distances. Abbots had to attend synods; bishops had to visit and supervise their parishes; kings had to be on the road all the time to present themselves to their people and to be available for giving judgment, to administer, and to rule (peripatetic kingship); knights participated in local or national warfare; or they joined a Crusade; preachers migrated all over Europe; even monks traveled far and wide in order to establish new monasteries; traders and merchants crisscrossed Europe and reached lands far beyond traditional geographic limits; students and professors came from many different countries to the major educational centers, such as Paris, Oxford, Salamanca, Montpellier, Bologna, and Salerno; masons, artisans, painters, and musicians were very dependent on their patrons and had to be on the look-out for new employment at the courts all over the land; minstrels, goliards, tumblers went from fair to fair, from court to court; and finally pilgrims went to many different sites all over Europe.

The early Middle Ages witnessed constant attacks from nomadic and other groups (Huns, Saracens, Vikings, Magyars, Mongols), who obviously managed to cover huge distances from central and sometimes even Eastern Asia to the Atlantic coast. The entire idea of medieval knighthood was predicated on tournaments, fighting for a lord in need, joining military campaigns, and so forth. And farmers were called in to the eastern lands to settle there and to develop the lands since the twelfth century, flocking to the areas of modern-day Poland

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16 For a survey of older research on pilgrimage literature, see Josephie Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: A Case for Computer-Aided Textual Criticism.* Middeleeuwse Studies en Bronnen, XL (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994), 9–31.

and neighboring countries to establish a new existence.[17] I have not even mentioned the masses of the poor and the beggars, but the roads were filled with them.[18] In other words, the medieval landscape was much more mobile and people were much more on the move than older research has assumed. Both Norbert Ohler and Ernst Schubert have demonstrated in their respective monographs on this large topic that moving around, spending time on the road, living of alms, relying on monasteries, hospitals, and inns for places to stay, etc. were rather common experiences in the Middle Ages.[19] Much of medieval culture can be explained in terms of travel, whether for military or political purposes, whether with a religious goal in mind (pilgrimage) or whether determined by mercantile interests.[20]

Travel and Multilingualism

Travel, however, always tends to bring people into contact with others who speak a different tongue. The critical question then always arises, both in the Middle Ages and today, how to communicate, especially if a *lingua franca*

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17 This vast topic is now nicely and succinctly surveyed by Romedio Schmitz-Esser, "Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages," *Handbook of Medieval Culture: : Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), vol. 3, 1680–1704.

18 Michel Mollat, *Les Pauvres au Moyen Âge: Étude sociale* (Paris: Hachette, 1978); here I have consulted the German trans. by Ursula Irsigler, *Die Armen im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1987).

19 Norbert Ohler, *The Medieval Traveller*, trans. Caroline Hillier (1986; Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989); Ernst Schubert, *Fahrendes Volk im Mittelalter* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1995).

20 The number of critical studies is truly legion by now; see, for instance, the contributions to *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Xenja von Ertzdorff and Dieter Neukirch, with the assistance of Rudolf Schulz. Chloe 13 (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Editions Rodopi, 1992); *Fremdheit und Reisen im Mittelalter*, ed. Irene Erfen and Karl-Heinz Spiess (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1997); Folker Reichert, *Erfahrung der Welt: Reisen und Kulturbegegnung im späten Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2001); see also *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John Block Friedman and Kristen Mossler Figg (New York: Garland, 2000); Jean Verdon, Travel in the Middle Ages, trans. George Holoch (1998; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003); Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Fiona Macdonald, *Travel and Trade in the Middle Ages* (Milwaukee, WI: World Almanac Library, 2006); *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence: The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress of the History of Art* (Carlton, Victoria: Miegunyah Press: Imprint of Melbourne University Publisher, 2009).

might not be available to both sides.[21] Most medieval intellectuals were highly trained in Latin, if they were not even bilingual (French and Latin, German and Latin, English and Latin, etc.).[22] But Europe knew dozens of different vernaculars, not to count the hundreds of dialects, a phenomenon that has not changed much until today despite the often occurring death of a language. Tristan in Gottfried von Straßburg's eponymous romance (ca. 1210) impresses everyone at King Mark's court with his amazing language abilities, talking to everyone present in his native tongue virtually without an accent.[23] While this fictional account presented the protagonist as an ideal, almost a descendant from the time prior to the Tower of Babel, the level of foreign language knowledge must have been considerably high, especially in a world deeply determined by orality. Nevertheless, even Tristan's performance is clearly characterized as miraculous, causing people to be astounded about his extraordinary linguistic skills.

Multilingualism, hence, was a definite issue already then, if not even more than today, as Arno Borst had famously recognized already some years ago, and which recent scholarship has reconfirmed in multiple forms.[24] If we take a close look, we can discover many examples of multilingualism in medieval literature, but in those cases it might have primarily been the poets' or chroniclers' interest to show off their awareness of language differences. Nevertheless, the number of translations from French to German, from Dutch to German, from Ital-

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21 For this phenomenon, see Suresh Canagarajah, 2007. "Lingua Franca, Multilingual Communities, and Language Acquisition," *Modern Language Journal* 91 (2007), Issue Supplement s1: 923–39.

22 *Approches du bilinguisme Latin-Français au Moyen Âge: Linguistique, codicologie, esthétique*, ed. Stéphanie Le Briz and Géraldine Veysseyre. Collection d'études médiévales de Nice, 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

23 Otmar Werner, "Tristan sprach auch Altnordisch: Fremdsprachen in Gottfrieds Roman," *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur* 114.3 (1985): 166–187; Albrecht Classen, *Verzweiflung und Hofnung: Die Suche nach der kommunikativen Gemeinschaft in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters.* Beihefte zur Mediävistik, 1 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2002), 314–16. See also my comments in the introduction to this volume.

24 Arno Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker* (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1957–1963); see now the contributions to *Zwischen Babel und Pfingsten: Sprachdifferenzen und Gesprächsverständigung in der Vormoderne (8.–16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Peter von Moos. Gesellschaft und individuelle Kommunikation in der Vormoderne, 1 (Vienna, Zürich, and Berlin: Lit, 2008); Mark Amsler, *Affective Literacies: Writing and Multilingualism in the Late Middle Ages.* Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011). For an excellent overview of all major languages used in the European Middle Ages, see Oliver M. Traxel, "Languages," *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), vol. 3, 794–835.

ian to English, etc. is very large, and we can be certain that medieval courts were locations of intense multicultural exchanges.[25] Most rulers were capable of speaking several languages, and much courtly activities such as tournaments involved participants from many different countries.[26]

In some areas of medieval Europe, such as England, even trilingualism was not unusual, if we think of John Gower as one of the most impressive examples.[27] In fact, as a number of his contemporary poets indicate, England was a true contact meeting place of various languages, and the creative act required just as much linguistic skills as the market place in London, King's Lynn, or Norwich.[28] In many contact zones of cultures, such as England and Wales, Sicily, Andalusia, Flanders, etc., the level of bi- or multilingualism was surprisingly high.[29] Howev-

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25 Bernhard Bischoff, "The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 36 (1961): 209–24. See also *The Medieval Translator*, ed. Rosalynn Voaden, René Tixier, Teresa Sanchez Roura, and Jenny Rebecca Rytting. The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

26 Reinhard Schneider, *Vom Dolmetschen im Mittelalter: Sprachliche Vermittlung in weltlichen und kirchlichen Zusammenhängen*. Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 72 (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2012), 51–77. The study of foreign languages was an integral aspect of the education of princes both in the high and the late Middle Ages. See Gerrit Deutschländer, *Dienen lernen, um zu herrschen: Höfische Erziehung im ausgehenden Mittelalter (1450–1550)*. Hallische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit, 6 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012), 22–23; 30–32.

27 Harry Peters, "John Gower—Love of Words and Words of Love," *Words of Love and Love of Words in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 347 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 439–60; see also the contributions to this volume by Richard Ingham and Imogen Marcus and by Helena Halmari and Timothy Regetz.

28 Jonathan Hsy, *Trading Tongues: Merchants, Multilingualism, and Medieval Literature*. Interventions. New Studies in Medieval Culture (Columbus, OH: Ohio University Press, 2013). He considers the cases of Geoffrey Chaucer, John Gower, Margery Kempe, and William Caxton, but also includes Charles d'Orléans, probing the meaning of the polyglottic individual in the late Middle Ages.

29 *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. D. A. Trotter (Cambridge and Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 2000); Aspects of Multilingualism in European Language History, ed. Kurt Braunmüller and Gisella Ferraresi. Hamburg Studies on Multilingualism, 1571–4934, 2 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, PA: J. Benjamins Publisher, 2003); Ad Putter, "Multilingualism in England and Wales *c.* 1200: The Testimony of Gerald of Wales," *Medieval Multilingualism: The Francophone World and its Neighbours*, ed. Christopher Kleinhenz and Keith Busby. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 83–106; Catherine E. Léglu, *Multilingualism and Mother Tongue in Medieval French, Occitan, and Catalan Narratives*. Penn State Romance Studies (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010). See also the contributions to *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in Medieval England, c. 800 – c. 1250*, ed. Elizabeth M. Tyler. Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

er, we must not idealize the linguistic situation in medieval Europe either, since the masses of people were probably nothing but monolingual speakers, did not even have a command of a supraregional language, and probably could not even communicate well with members of neighboring villages and cities, as the situation of modern dialect speakers in rural communities illustrates well. We also have to keep in mind that already the Middle Ages knew the profession of the translator who was regularly called in when major political or religious issues were at stake and contracts were drawn up or when international church councils or political meetings took place. In that regard, translators, the multilingual speakers par excellence, have always served in a crucial role within politics and diplomacy, in nation building and in shaping culture.[30]

Pilgrimage to the Holy Land: Meeting of East and West

What happened, however, when Europeans bent their way further East and traveled to the Holy Land and beyond? After all, Jerusalem was the holiest site for all Christians, followed by Rome and Santiago de Compostela, and pilgrimage was a major motivational factor throughout the entire Middle Ages.[31] The importance of the holy sites was absolutely supreme for pilgrims, who normally never even questioned whether they should embark on such a religious travel out of fear that they might face linguistic challenges. A good example proves to be the English mystic Margery Kempe, who went to all three major pilgrimage goals, Jerusalem, Rome, and Santiago de Compostela, and also traveled to numerous other sites, such as in Poland and Germany. While in Rome, for instance, on her way back from Jerusalem, she encountered a German priest who did not speak English. Nevertheless, somehow through divine intervention, Margery and this priest managed to strike a functioning conversation probably on religious matter: "And yet he did not understand the English that other people spoke; even though they spoke the same words that she spoke, he still did not understand them unless she spoke herself."[32]

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30 Schneider, *Vom Dolmetschen* (see note 26), 68–97. For the role of translators, see now the contributions to *Role of Translation in Nation Building*, ed. Ravi Kumar (New Delhi: Modlingua Learning and Indian Translators Association, 2013).

31 For an excellent anthology of relevant texts representative of pilgrimage, both from the Christian and the Islamic tradition, see *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: A Reader*, ed. Brett Edward Whalen (Toronto and Tonawanda, NY: The University of Toronto Press, 2011).

32 *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. B. A. Windeatt (London: Penguin, 1985), ch. 33, pp. 119.

There are countless other examples since pilgrimage was of such huge relevance throughout the entire Middle Ages,[33] but the issue of linguistic hurdles and problems which the pilgrims often had to overcome has rarely, if ever attracted scholarly attention.[34] Some of the central concerns of Pilgrimage Studies pertain to the itineraries of the masses of pilgrims, pilgrimage badges, special historical, archeological, and art-historical aspects of individual pilgrimage sites, and the experiences which pilgrims made in the Holy Land, on the Sinai, and in Egypt.[35] There is no doubt that late-medieval pilgrimage, especially to Jerusalem, was well organized by Venetian businesses, which meant that most travelers were well taken care of and normally stayed within their own group wherever they went, perhaps like modern religious tourists. They hired guides and translators, and if they ever really observed anything of the foreign world, it was mostly through the lens of their religious devotion.[36] Rarely do we find pilgrimage reports that share more information than what concerned Christian readers back home, if we consider, for instance, those accounts by the Friar Maurice (1271–1273), Burchard of Mount Sion (1274–1285), Philip of Savona (1285–1289), Riccoldo of Monte Croce (1288–1289), or of the Greek Anonymous (ca. 1250–ca. 1350).[37] Nevertheless, it deserves mention that the number of pilgrimage accounts especially from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries is legion, which demonstrates that pilgrimage had become, indeed, big touristic business

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33 See now *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor and Leigh Ann Craig, et al. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010). There is, however, no entry for 'languages,' 'multilingualism,' 'bilingualism,' or any other related topic.

34 The contributors to *Zwischen Babel und Pfingsten* (see note 24) deal only with linguistic awareness in the Middle Ages, the relationship between Latin and the Romance vernaculars, differences between languages, linguistic issues pertaining to preaching, and the norms of verbal communication.

35 See, for example, *Wallfahrt und Kulturbegegnung: Das Rheinland als Ausgangspunkt und Ziel spätmittelalterlicher Pilgerreisen. Beiträge des interdisziplinären Symposiums in Erkelenz am 14. Oktober 2011*, ed. Helmut Brall-Tuchel. Schriften des Heimatvereins der Erkelenzer Lande e.V., 26 (Erkelenz: Heimatverein der Erkelenzer Lande, 2012). Although published at a rather obscure location, the articles are of a very high caliber. As to pilgrim badges, see now Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*. Medieval Finds from Excavations in London, 7 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press; London: Museum of London, 1998, 2010).

36 Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage* (see note16), 19–29.

37 One such case was Arnold von Harff, *Rom – Jerusalem – Santiago: Das Pilgertagebuch des Ritters Arnold von Harff (1496–1498)*, trans., commentary, and introd. by Helmut Brall-Tuchel and folker Reichert (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2007); see my study Albrecht Classen, "Travel Space as Constructed Space: Arnold von Harff Observes the Arabic Space," *German Studies Review* 33.2 (2010): 375–88.

by that time.[38] Would we then, in light of this observation, even need to investigate whether any of these pilgrim authors ever concerned themselves with linguistic issues? Were Christian pilgrims not simply overly busy with religious concerns, with reaching their goals, with collecting relics, with gaining access to the various churches, chapels, or burial sites to pay much attention to the alien environment and the daily conflicts with the local population? All this makes certainly good sense, and probably has not changed very much until today, especially if we think of modern mass tourism.

Nevertheless, pilgrims spent a fairly long time in the Holy Land, and they had to cope with daily problems regarding transportation, food, shelter, safety, and other aspects. They had to interact with the local people, pay fees or fines, had to hire guides, translators, rent asses or mules to cover the long distances when traveling overland, defend themselves against robbers and other criminals, and they also had to observe very carefully the other religious communities to avoid causing conflicts. When we pay attention to how they had to handle ordinary, mundane concerns, we suddenly recognize at least some of them being in constant contact and exchange with representatives of the local population, which then also required to resort to a variety of languages to build linguistic bridges.

The Dominican Preacher and Pilgrim Felix Fabri

Of course, the ordinary pilgrimage author hardly considered those details and made sure that his or her audience was clearly directed toward the religious experience. After all, pilgrimage accounts served not simply for entertainment of the audience back home; rather, the authors intended to provide their readers/listeners with a proxy experience, making it possible for them to reenact the pilgrimage for themselves without leaving for the actual trip.[39] Nevertheless, one

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38 See, for instance, Christian Halm, *Deutsche Reiseberichte*, in *Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters: Eine analytische Bibliographie*, 1. Kieler Werkstücke, Reihe D, 5 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2001); Gerhard Weiss, "The Pilgrim as Tourists: Travels to the Holy Land as Reflected in the Published Accounts of German Pilgrims Between 1450 and 1550," *The Medieval Mediterranean: Cross-Cultural Currents*, ed. Marilyn Chiat and Kathryn Reyerson. Medieval Studies at Minnesota, 3 (St. Cloud, MN: North Star Press of St. Cloud, 1988), 119–31.

39 This is expressed most dramatically in Felix Fabri's *Die Sionpilger*, ed. Wieland Carls. Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 39 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1999), composed in 1492 by this Dominican preacher from Ulm, Southern Germany. He created this account for a women's convent, making it possible for them to substitute the concrete pilgrimage to the

pilgrimage author, the Dominican preacher Felix Fabri from Ulm, easily emerges as one of the most astute and attentive writer who provides us with a wealth of information about, among many other aspects, complex linguistic challenges that he and his brethren had to deal with. But while Fabri appears rather exceptional in his passion for minutiae, those can be interpreted as representative of what most pilgrims probably had to go through and how they handled difficult situations when they had to engage with the local population. In other words, we can consult his account as an excellent document that sheds significant light on the way how European Christians and Arabs/Muslims in the Middle East generally communicated with each other during the late Middle Ages.

Although Fabri's most important pilgrimage account is available also in English translation, his work has remained fairly unknown outside of the Germanophone world. He is not even mentioned in the *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, while Z. R. W. M. von Martels offers a brief biography in the encyclopedia on trade and travel.[40] Whatever it might mean, even *Wikipedia* does not pay much attention to Fabri, listing in its entry on him only one of his major texts that he is truly famous for (*Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae sanctae, Arabiae et Aegypti peregrinationem*), without giving any further insights.[41] By now, however, we can rely on the excellent entry on Fabri in the new *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon* edited by Wolfgang Achnitz.

According to Jacob Klingner, Fabri was born ca. 1437/1438 in Zürich as the son of a wealthy patrician family there, called Schmid, while he himself later Latinized his name to Fabri. In 1452 he joined the Dominican monastery of Basel; in 1468 he transferred to the monastery of Ulm, where he worked as preacher and teacher until his death on March 14, 1502. He seems to have edited the works of the mystic Heinrich Seuse (Henry Suso), which is lost today. Fabri also published several religious tracts and sermons for a variety of Southern-German women convents. While Fabri's other activities as a religious author do not concern us here, his first pilgrimage to the Holy Land from April 14 to November 16, 1480 proves to be decisive to make him stand out among his contempo-

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Holy Land through a regular reading of his narrative, going through all the necessary rituals and ceremonies, but simply at home.

40 Z. R. W. M. von Martels, "Fabri, Felix (1441/2 – 1502)," *Trade, Travel, and Exploration* (see note 20), 191 – 92. It is rather disappointing that there is no entry for Fabri in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert E. Bjork. 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

41 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Felix_Fabri. The entry includes at least a link to Fabri's original text in Google Books: http://books.google.com/books?id=29qH6aoMrgAC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false and a link to the English translation: http://archive.org/stream/libraryofpalesti08paleuoft#page/336/mode/2up.

raries because it was the first of a series of similar narratives. At first he subsequently composed his *Gereimtes Pilgerbüchlein* (Rhymed Pilgrimage Book), the only late-medieval pilgrimage account in verse. Having been rather frustrated with the short time period which they had spent in the Holy Land, Fabri went back there on April 14 1483, from which he returned not until January 29, 1484. This time Fabri even visited the Sinai and Egypt, which he discusses extensively in his two-volume account that he put together once he had come home, under the somewhat curious title *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae sanctae, Arabiae et Aegypti peregrinationem*, publicly admitting that he had allowed his curiosity about the foreign world get the better of himself ("Evagatorium" – Roaming). While Fabri certainly consulted many learned and pragmatic sources, his narrative proves to be particularly fascinating because of the personal comments about his extensive experiences, hardly paralleled by any other pilgrimage account from that time.

Once the *Evagatorium* had appeared, Fabri wrote a German version of it for his travel companions, *Das Deutsche Pilgerbuch*, which was first printed in 1556. Finally, in 1492 Fabri created a virtual pilgrimage account, the *Sionpilger*, destined for female readers in convents who could not travel themselves because of the oath of *stabilitas loci*, but who still wanted to partake in the religious experiment in the Holy Land. Here the account takes the reader to all those important pilgrimage sites, where they then can pray and receive the same indulgences as the real traveler, however without facing the usual dangers and problems. Beyond these accounts, Fabri also published more sermons and religious tracts, but he never resumed his travels to the Holy Land again.[42]

In his *Wanderings of Felix Fabri*, as Aubrey Stewart rendered the Latin title into English,[43] we are confronted with a narrative mirror of an extraordinary kind, perhaps paralleled only by the contemporary account by his contemporary, Bernhard von Breydenbach, his *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (1486), which was

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[42] Jacob Klingner, "Fabri, Felix," *Reiseberichte und Geschichtsdichtung*, in: *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon: Das Mittelalter*, ed. Wolfgang Achnitz (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), cols. 922 – 35.

[43] *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri*, 2 vols., trans. Aubrey Stewart. The Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 7, 9, and 10 (1887 – 1897; New York: AMS Press, 1971). See also the French translation, *Voyage en Egypte de Félix Fabri 1483*, traduit du latin, présenté et annoté par le R. P. Jacques Masson, S.J. 3 vols. La Collection des Voyageurs Occidentaux en Egypte, 14 (Cairo: Institut Français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1975). For the original Latin, see *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terræ Sanctæ, Arabiæ et Egypti peregrinationem*; ed. Cunradus Dietericus Hassler. Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, II–IV (Stuttgart: Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins, 1843 – 1849).

not only detailed, but also richly illustrated by the artist Erhard Reuwichs's famous woodcuts.[44] To be as comprehensive as possible, we would, of course, also have to include into our investigations pilgrimage accounts such as the one by Thomas Brygg de Swinburne (1392–1393), who even visited Damascus and Beirut; by William Wey, priest of Eton College (1458, 1462), by Jean de Zeilbecke (1513), Pierre Mésenge (1507), or Pierre Le Boucq (1548–1549), but with those authors we move already into the early modern age.

Felix Fabri and Multilingualism

Fabri was not content with seeking out the traditional holy sites, such as Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron, but also Jericho, Gaza, Beersheba, Sinai, Cairo, Rosetto, and Alexandria, from where he then returned home.[45] In this regard he was a forerunner of many other pilgrims to come who increasingly extended their itineraries to include more and more of the Arabic lands, combining religious with touristic interests. Another truly interesting traveler was the knight Arnold von Harff who toured the Holy Land between 1496 and 1498 and did not hesitate on his way home to make huge detours that extended even to Santiago de Compostela. Although he also claimed to have reached Mecca, this seems rather doubtful since the Muslim rulers would not have allowed Christians to enter the holiest site of Islam.[46] Arnold will be of relevance to us later because

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44 Frederike Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach und die Holzschnitte Erhard Reuwichs: Die* Peregrinatio in terram sanctam *(1486) als Propagandainstrument im Mantel der gelehrten Pilgerschrift* (Stuttgart: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co., 2006).

45 Christian Halm, *Deutsche Reiseberichte* (see note 38), 219–20. He also offers a detailed bibliography (216–19) and also lists the names of his travel companions (210–11).

46 *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff von Cöln durch Italien, Syrien, Aegypten … wie er sie in den Jahren 1496–1499 vollendet, beschrieben und durch Zeichnungen erläutert hat*, ed. Eberhard von Groote (1860; Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York: Olms, 2004); *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff, Knight from Cologne*, trans. from the German by Malcom Letts. Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, Sec. Series, XCIV (London: Hakluyt Society, 1946); *Rom – Jerusalem – Santiago: Das Pilgertagebuch des Ritters Arnold von Harff (1496–1498)*. Nach dem Text der Ausgabe von Eberhard von Groote übersetzt, kommentiert und eingeleitet von Helmut Brall-Tuchel und Folker Reichert (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2007).See also H. Grotzfeld, "Arnold von Harffs Aufenthalt in Kairo1497 A.D.: Wahrheit oder Dichtung," *Law, Christianity and Modernism in Islamic Society: Proceedings of the Eighteenth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, ed. U. Vermeulen and J. M. F. van Reeth. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 86 (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 199–211.

of his serious attempts to create extensive lists of foreign language terms and phrases in nine different languages.[47]

Fabri's *Evagatorium* truly constitutes a comprehensive and highly detailed travelogue and pilgrimage account at the same time. As much as the author closely followed the traditional genre, providing all the expected information about the travel route and then the holy sites in Palestine, as much he also took the liberty to reflect upon his own perspectives, attitudes, emotions, and thoughts, such as in the early part, when he comments: "I had more pleasure in beholding Swabia than the land of Canaan, and Ulm appeared to me pleasanter than Jerusalem. Moreover, the fear of the sea increased within me, and I conceived so many objections to that pilgrimage that, had I not been ashamed, I would have run after Master Ludwig and re-entered Ulm with him" (9). In many respects Fabri allows us to follow him on his journey step by step as if he had used a video camera, sharing with us all his feelings and attitudes, his conversations and reflections.

Several factors which he mentions at the beginning illustrate impressively some of the key aspects of late-medieval society and the critical conditions in the Eastern Mediterranean. First, the German pilgrims are clearly separated by the French; second, the Turks constantly threaten the voyage because of their military operations against some of the islands; third, the Venetians have arranged concrete contracts with the Turks which assign their own ships special status, granting them free passage to the Holy Land and elsewhere (12). In other words, both national and cultural categories already meant much and separated people into separate groups with different treatments, privileges, and rights. But Fabri never informs us how their own group communicated with the city officials, whether anyone was familiar with Italian, or whether they talked to each other using Latin. The latter seems to have been the regular custom, especially when the travelers looked for shelter, such as in Ragusa, where the members of a Dominican convent invited them in and allowed them to sleep there for the night (15). Two brethren from that convent even accompany Fabri from there to the Holy Land to join him in his pilgrimage, and they did not seem to experience any linguistic problems. There is also clear indication that the group of German pilgrims was clearly recognized by the various local people,

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47 Hartmut Kokott, "Der Pilgerbericht des Arnold von Harff," *Pilgerreisen in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, ed. Barbara Haupt and Wilhelm G. Busse. Studia humaniora, 41 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2006), 93 – 112; Hartmut Beckers, "Zu den Fremdalphabeten und Fremdsprachenproben im Reisebericht Arnolds von Harff (1496 – 98)," *Collectanea philologica: Festschrift für Helmut Gipper zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Günter Heinz and Peter Schmitter. Saecula Spiritalia, 15 (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1985), Vol. 1, 73 – 86.

either because they dreaded them or rejected them as arrogant and dangerous (e.g., 163).

But just as in modern-day travel groups, whether on a pilgrimage or on a cruise, people from many different cultures, countries, and tongues were together, all pursuing the same goal, to reach the Holy Land. Fabri comments, for instance: "There were many Latin priests, Sclavonians, Italians, Lombards, Gauls, Franks, Germans, Englishmen, Irishmen, Hungarians, Scots, Dacians, Bohemians, and Spaniards, and many there were who spoke the same tongue, but came from different dioceses, and belonged to different religious orders" (209). Fabri never shies away from giving all kinds of details, pertinent or not to his description of of all and every unusual curve of events on their pilgrimage.

From the start we regularly learn of his deep-seated fear of the Saracens, from whom they all want to stay as far away as possible: "We dared not go nearer to the shore, lest we should move the Saracens to anger, for we had received no safe-conduct from them" (212). Everything on this pilgrimage hinges on the availability of translators, as the ship captain explicitly underscores: "So the servants of both captains went up to Ramatha and notified the arrival of the pilgrims to the Governor of Ramatha" (213). The latter, however, immediately went into action, organizing, among other things, a translator for them, commonly identified as a "dragoman": "begging him to obtain without delay a safe-conduct from the Governors of Jerusalem, Ramatha, Gazara, and to bring the dragoman Calinus with some armed Mamelukes" (213).[48]

Mamelukes (or: Mamluks) regularly appear in Fabri's report, similar to many other contemporary travelogues pertaining to those parts of the Near East, since they did not only serve in the Ottoman army, but were also extremely useful as translators, often originating from many different countries, including Germany, Austria, France, or Italy.[49] Similarly, the dragomans proved to be important sources of cultural information, alerting the pilgrims to specific customs and habits they had to observe in the new environment: "In like manner, Calinus, our dragoman, greeted us respectfully, and forbade us to carry any arms, whether sword or bow, out of the ship, but to go unarmed as became pilgrims" (221).

The local authorities made sure to register all pilgrim travelers and took precise records of each one of them. Curiously, however, the Arabic clerks had the

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48 Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria," *The English Historical Review* 87.342 (1972): 1–26.

49 Amalia Levanoni, "Mamluks," *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages* (see note 20), 355–57; David Ayalon, *Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt (1250–1517)*. Variorum Reprints, CS52 (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977); Donald P. Little, *History and Historiography of the Mamluks*. Variorum Reprints, CS240 (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986).

hardest time with Fabri's first name and could not pronounce it properly despite all their efforts. Even Fabri's dragoman, with whom he communicated in Italian, could not achieve this task: "But when I told it to him [Felix], he could by no means pronounce it, but said some horrible word in lieu of it, whereat I wondered, seeing that he was well skilled in the Italian tongue" (223 – 24).

Whether the pilgrims could understand the natives or not, they soon engaged in trade with them, since merchants arrived and offered their wares (226). Moreover, the pilgrims quickly realized how much welcome treatment they received, as long as they paid for the service: "Meanwhile there came some Saracens, who cooked eggs in a frying-pan with oil, and some of them brought loaves of bread, some cool water, some fruit, some salads, and some hot cakes made of eggs, and sold them to us" (227). However, one heavily armed Saracen suddenly showed up and extorted money from them all. For the night, the pilgrims hence hired some people to stand guard for them, but the next morning the same ferocious looking person demanded money from them again, without the travelers understanding the reasons (228).

As to their translator, we are informed: he "could speak Italian and a corrupt German, which he had learned from the pilgrims with whom he had often journeyed to St. Catharine's" (228). Fabri does not explain where he himself had learned Italian, but he obviously could communicate with this man called Calinus quite well, who informed him about the conditions of the road to the St. Catharine monastery on Mount Sinai (229). The entire group of pilgrims must also have had good connections with the government and could relay problems or complaints without linguistic challenges. One of the German knights in Fabri's company bought some gem stones from a local merchants, only to learn soon enough that they were only fake. He immediately went to his captain, who went to the Governor of Rama and could secure the recovery of the money the knight had paid by means of force (233). It seems doubtful, however, that anyone of them had a command of Arabic, as Fabri himself reveals in his deprecatory remark about the Oriental tongues: "For all Easterns have most harsh voices; nor can they form any melody, but their singing is like the noise of goats or calves" (234).

Fabri's account also proves to be so relevant for us because of the wealth of anthropological information, which indirectly also relays significant insight into the way how the pilgrims communicated with the ordinary people in the Holy Land, such as ass drivers. One of them had taken hold of Fabri and led him to his own animal. Although the two men could not speak with each other, and although the pilgrim at first felt a considerable dislike and even fear of this foreign man, soon these two struck a kind of friendship easily bridging the linguistic divide: "For albeit his face had a very cruel look, so that in the beginning I was

much afraid of him, yet he was all kindness, and ministered to my wants like the best of servants, even before he knew my disposition" (241). Probably by means of gestures and the repetition of the name, Fabri learned that this slave was called Cassa but wanted to be called Galelacassa. During the entire pilgrimage the ass driver remained the same, and both thus formed almost something like a team. In this report about his second, much longer pilgrimage, Fabri was already familiar with the common practice by the ass drivers to pick their own customers, but he turned it to his advantage, calling out for Galeacassa in the midst of the crowd, for which reason all the other Arabs there left him in peace. The slave's lord quickly recognized what Fabri was shouting and gestured to him with a stick to stand by him and wait. Neither one could understand each other, but when Fabri then wanted to leave, thinking that it might have been a misunderstanding, the Saracen told him something in his own ("Chaldee") tongue, which, as he later figured out, had meant: "'Stand still here by my side; I am Galela, and my slave Cassa will presently come to me, and will furnish you with a beast'" (242).

As soon as the slave arrived, both men expressed signs of great joy about their meeting again, although they did not speak the same language. Fabri handed to Galelacassa two iron stirrups that he had brought with him from Ulm as gifts, which increased the ass driver's joy even further, who then supplied him with the best animal for the transportation and continued to serve him to the best of his abilities, treating him almost like a great lord, providing him with fresh fruit whenever possible, supporting him on steep climbs, and even lending him the goad for the ass, which none of the other pilgrims experienced and which was an extraordinary sign of respect. Fabri had obviously acquired transcultural knowledge and sensitivity to the foreign culture, which makes him conclude: "during both my pilgrimages I was so fortunate as never to be ill-treated in any way by any Saracen, Arab, Midianite or Mameluke with whom I had to do, nor can I tell you of any blows or insults which I received, albeit I often saw the other pilgrims insulted and beaten" (243).

Although we do not observe much of multilingual exchanges, we recognize in Fabri an experienced traveler, a pilgrim with considerable sensitivity toward the foreign cultures, and a sympathetic observer who successfully managed to operate in a multilingual environment. In light of his personal comments we can finally sense how Marco Polo, for instance, had succeeded in traversing so many different countries on the Asian continent and gaining enough of linguistic expertise to cope well in those foreign worlds.[50]

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50 See, for instance, Sharon Kinoshita, "Marco Polo's *Le Devisement dou monde* and the Trib-

Insofar as Arabic was not available to Fabri or to virtually any other pilgrim in his company, they had to cope with other linguistic means to carry out their daily business. But even within their own company they faced linguistic problems because the local Franciscans, for instance, could not communicate with the German pilgrims. When in the city of Rama, they all wanted to enjoy a mass read by one of the brethren. Only because Fabri proved to be multilingual (at least German, Latin, and Italian), he could facilitate the translation of a sermon by the Father Guardian: "After Mass the Father Guardian preached a beautiful sermon in Latin, because he was an Italian, and knew no German. As he had no one with him who was eloquent in the German tongue, who could interpret his sermon to us Germans, he asked me to stand beside him, and translate his exhortations to the German pilgrims" (247).

Among the many rules which the Guardian explained to the entire group of pilgrims, which mostly pertained to their public behavior, clothing, treatment of women, drinking of wine, etc., we also hear of a surprising warning to be aware of German Jews "and be on his guard against them, for their whole object in life is to cheat us and rob us of our money. Let him also beware of Eastern Christians when he has dealings with them, for they have no conscience, less even than the Jews and Saracens, and will cheat pilgrims if they can" (253). Apart from the obvious anti-Judaism and the open hatred of Greek-Orthodox living in Palestine,[51] we can recognize the significant fact that many different people from various parts of Europe lived there and acted both as merchants and could also be of service as translators. Although the Holy Land was certainly dominated by an Arabic speaking population, Fabri's various side-comments confirm that neither religious nor linguistic homogeneity was the case. Once the group of pilgrim has completed its meeting and the instructional session, they leave their compound and return to the public, where they meet a true mix of people: we "came out into our court, which we found full of Saracens, Jews, Heretics, and Eastern Christians, with various things for sale, more especially victuals" (255).

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utary East," *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, ed. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare Iannucci, with the assistance of John Tulk (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 60–86; see also the other contributions to this valuable volume.

51 Such a hostile attitude against all other non-Christians was a mainstay of medieval European mentality and finds countless expressions throughout the entire period; see now Christopher R. Clason, "Walther von der Vogelweide and the Middle East: 'Holy Land' and the Heathen," *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 14 (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 399–425.

Nevertheless, the difference to the Arabic world was the central impression, as Fabri emphasizes over and over, since he appears to understand more details and cultural features than many of his companions, and yet he also could not overcome the major language barrier. For instance, he describes their morning prayer in the following fashion: "When it grew light, the Saracens arose, folded up their beds, arranged their clothes, and then straightway bent their knees in devotion, and prayed very seriously, saying their prayers in a kind of roaring tone, with their hands clasped together and raised on high" (261).

Fabri does not condemn their practice; instead he reveals rather how much he is impressed by the people's religious devotion: "just as though they had all been monks of the same rule" (262). But it remains unclear how he evaluated Islam at large or in specific, since he provides many more details about the Muslim practices and ceremonies than other pilgrimage authors, without resorting to real criticism or derisive terms. However, he laments that the Muslims would be lost to eternal condemnation because of their wrong religion. Nevertheless, by the same token the Christians would not be much better: "I fear that many Christians pass the whole day without any adoration of God, or any prayer to Him, which is a thing which could not happen among Saracens, Turks, Barbarians, Jews or Arabs" (262).

While in Jerusalem, a large public church service was organized on Mount Sion, during which the Father Guardian preached "a beautiful sermon in the Latin tongue, in praise of the holy places and of their devout visitation, which sermon was translated in German to the laymen by the Venerable Father Paul Guglinger" (288). When the doors opened once by chance, a throng of Arabs entered, all simply curious about the marvels in the church and near the altar, without causing any trouble or attacking the Christian community. Nevertheless, "the priests stopped the service until they were driven out by the brethren, who did not use force, or drag them … but quietly led them out and begged them to go" (289).

It might well have been possible that some of the guards knew Arabic and thus could urge the uninvited guests to leave on their own. But Fabri is not clear about it and only emphasizes how much the locals wondered about the Christian rituals and customs. This, however, never led to any form of solid communication. Naturally, the European pilgrims stuck together and helped each other out, hence did not look for contacts or friendship with the locals. In this regard they prove to be very similar to modern-day tourists who normally also do not make serious or any efforts to learn the foreign language. Fabri and his companions were well taken care of, they had their translators at hand, and they were protected by governmental privileges. Nevertheless, in their midst they also spoke different languages (especially Latin, German, and Italian)

and required translators even for themselves. Sometimes a sermon was giving in Latin, sometimes in German, or both followed each other immediately (297–98).

Many times we discover indirect examples of multilingualism, particularly when the author reports on political events involving representatives of the three major religions, who were also speaking different languages. Referring to the Mount Sion (Sinai), he identifies a site which Christians, Jews, and Muslims contended for, each group claiming to be exclusively entitled to it. The Sultan, however, had taken it for his own religion, whereupon the "Jews have many times begged the Soldan to give them that place" (303). The Christians also appealed to him, which resulted into interesting religious discussions: "When he was told that David and the other kings of Jerusalem of his seed were buried there, he said: 'We Saracens also count David holy, even as the Christians and the Jews do, and we believe the Bible as they do" (303). We are not informed whether translators were at hand, or whether the Christians or Jews present knew enough Arabic to engage in this complex discussion. Although the Muslims took complete control of that site, the Jews continued to plead with the Sultan, obviously linguistically capable enough to formulate their request in an understandable and meaningful manner, though always without success (303–04).

However, as a side note, Fabri reflects back to the situation at home and reveals that the challenge to handle a multilingual situation was not unique for the Middle East. Reflecting on the many lies and rumors spread about the Holy Land and the best way to go on a pilgrimage, the author relays one experience he had years before with two vagabonds from Flanders who had arrived in Ulm, Germany, pretending to have returned from Jerusalem and Mount Sinai. Attracting large crowds of curious people, they "told many wondrous tales as they sat among the poor people in the hospital" (316). Fabri examined their fictional accounts and dismissed them already then as lies, which he now finds confirmed while in Jerusalem, although even there similar lies are spread by the local people to impress the pilgrims. For our purpose, however, we can recognize that language barriers obviously mattered little since those two men from Flanders could communicate well with the German audience in Ulm.

Similarly, Fabri rarely mentions that he was unable to speak with any of the various religious people (Christians) who resided in Jerusalem and elsewhere in the Holy Land, and who did not command the German tongue. One negative example proves to be the case when he encountered Armenians: "The Archbishop is a grave man, handsome and reverend to behold, and we would fain have conversed with him, but could not understand one another's language" (322). Nevertheless, we also learn through Fabri's account that many more German pilgrims stayed or even lived in the Holy Land than we might have assumed, including

women: "As I stood thus thoughtlessly, there came to me two ladies who were pilgrims, one of whom was a German, Hildegarde by name" (343).

Of course, we have always to keep in mind that Fabri's central interest rests on giving a precise pilgrimage account and to allow his readers to share the religious experience, while the daily challenges, including linguistic problems, are mentioned only in passing. Nevertheless, we still recognize clearly how much this author felt the stress of operating in a foreign world where he faced numerous language barriers, especially with the Arabs, while he often found himself in the happy circumstance of talking and engaging with people who either spoke German themselves or could communicate with him in Italian or Latin. Moreover, he also recognized that in the course of the Crusading history, not all Christians were at the end simply expelled, as many stayed and signed contracts with the Sultan, even though the Pope then excommunicated them. Yet, in the course of time, because of the pilgrimage from all over Christian Europe, Jerusalem, above all, had become a cosmopolitan, multilingual city of great import for the representatives of all three world religions (413–14).[52]

Fabri was more than aware about the existence of many different languages, especially in the Holy Land, as he mentions the large crowds on specific dates consisting of a "multitude of people. Then one hears spoken there all the languages of the world, and those times a market of precious rarities is held within the church" (429).[53] By the same token, Fabri recognizes that among the Christians living or traveling in the Holy Land there were representatives of many separate groups, some of which not even belonging to the Roman Catholic Church and speaking very different languages, such as Czech: "So likewise the Glagolae dwell with us, albeit they do not say Mass in Latin, but in their own mother tongue, because they receive their holy orders at Rome, and are not heretics" (433). Then there were the Greek-Orthodox (433–34), the Georgians (435), the Jacobites (435), the Indian Christians ("Abassini") (436), the Syrian Christians (436–37), and the Christian Armenians (437–38). In addition. Fabri mentions many other peoples of different cultures and languages, such as "Saracens,

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52 Suzanne M. Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); F. E Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets, From the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).

53 This phenomenon has already been commented on several times; see, for instance, Laura Minervini, "La lingua franca mediterranea: Plurilinguismo, multilinguismo, pidginizzazione sulle coste del Mediterraneo tra Tardo Medioevo e prima età moderna," *Medioevo Romanzo* 20 (1996), 231–301; Cyril Aslanov, "Languages in Contact in the Latin East: Acre and Cyprus," *Crusades* 1 (2002): 155–81.

Jews, Turks, Samaritans, and Mamelukes" (438), which clearly signals how much Jerusalem attracted people from all over the world, primarily for religious reasons, but out of numerous other motivations as well (economic, military, political, etc.).

For Fabri, linguistic incomprehensibility did not surface as a real concern because while in Jerusalem he mostly roamed around and visited the various holy sites with his whole group, and when they encountered an Arab, who guarded the entrance to a church or chapel, they simply had to pay him money to gain entrance (499), whether they communicated by means of words or gestures. The entire narrative focusing on Jerusalem is completely consumed with the spiritual experiences, hence mostly void of comments concerning the daily life or exchanges with foreigners there. One remarkable exception proves to be a moment when they all intend to enter a deep cave on the northern side of Mount Sion to fetch some water from a well. There, however, they were suddenly met by a most fierce Arab who tried with all his might, with shouting, cussing, cursing, and even physically struggling with them to keep them out of the cave. One Italian knight in their company then dragged him away, which resulted, however, into an ever worse fist fight, until a group of the pilgrims held the Arab down, afraid that, if he were to run out and call for help against them, they might get into serious trouble. However, when some of the knights finally opened their purses and showed him their money, things radically changed: "as soon as he saw the money, he changed into a different man, for his countenance became calm, his voice sounded more gentle, his anger was appeased, and he offered himself, cheerfully and without reserve, to serve us in whatever way we might choose" (524).

Citing a Solomonic proverb, Fabri realized a fundamental truth about languages: "Money answereth all things" (Eccl. X; 524). In a way, that would be the most universal definition of multilingualism, and this already in biblical times, and now at the end of the Middle Ages. With the help of money Fabri and all other pilgrims can ultimately communicate effectively with everyone else, especially with the local population because it conveys clearly what their intentions and wishes are. Upon showing their money, even the most aggressive and hostile Arab suddenly turns friendly and collaborates with them, as in this concrete case.

Other times, however, when the pilgrims have finally departed from Jerusalem to make their way to the Sinai, they seem to have been able to speak with the locals, perhaps via a translator, since they learn of some silly legendary story about the origin of white round pebbles: "About these they who showed us the field told us a childish story, which, nevertheless, I mean to recount, as I have other childish things" (545). Even the pilgrims' guides, though they could

not understand their German, Latin, or Italian, managed to grasp the meaning of some of their words, or at least of their singing, when they intoned some hymns out of joy reading the town of Bethlehem: "they were not affected by our mirth, yet listened in silence, and seemed to me to be more cheerful than they were wont to be" (548).

By contrast, conflicts with robbers require intensive negotiations between the latter and the pilgrims' guides and captains, who can only limit the amount which has to be paid to enter the city (550). On their way back to Jerusalem they encountered a funeral ceremony for a dead woman. Their guides immediately forced the pilgrims off the road because, as Fabri subsequently learned, which again reflects an impressive form of communication with the Arabic ass drivers and others, "had we come against them wearing our crosses, the devil would have stirred up a dreadful quarrel, for without doubt they would have risen against us, and driven us away from them with stones out of respect for the dead woman" (605). In other words, multilingualism does not always have to be predicated on actual knowledge of multiple languages. Fabri could cope in the Arabic context relying on his Latin and Italian, and then managed to grasp most other conditions or concerns voiced by their guides through other communicative means.

A very different example of 'multilingualism' can be found later when Fabri explores the etymology of Bethlehem, which he first traces to the Hebrew words for 'house' and 'bread': house of bread ('beth-lechem').[54] Similarly, he explains the name of Bethany as "'the house of obedience'" and Bethames as "'the house of the sun'" (581). To explain this further, Fabri creates an analogy with German town names, where the compound for 'house,' however, only comes at the end, such as in Offenh[a]usen, Schaf[f]h[a]usen. or Ochsenh[a]usen (582). In other words, Fabri seems to have studied some Hebrew, though he did not command much of that language, as we can tell from the rest of his account.

When Fabri embarks on his journey to the Sinai, separating from his German company of knights, who returned home, he lists all the names of the new travel companions. One of them he identifies as translator: "John Knuss, interpreter of the Italian tongue" (II, 104). Another one was the Archdeacon and Canon of the Church of Transylvania in Hungary, Master John Lazinus. The latter is described as a highly worthy person, as a "pure-bred Hungarian," hence also as a person

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54 This explanation still seems to hold true today, see, online, http://www.biblestudytools.com/dictionary/bethlehem/; see also http://encyclopedia.jrank.org/BER_BLA/BETHLEHEM_Heb_House_of_Bread_or.html (both last accessed on Sept. 26, 2015).

who could not cope at all with German, Italian, or Arabic. Instead he commanded excellent knowledge of "Latin, Sclavonian, Italian, and Hungarian languages" (II, 105).

We must assume that Fabri communicated with him in Italian and Latin. In this multilingual situation of a pilgrimage, any language had to make do, but both Latin and Italian seem to have been more widely spread, even among the Arabs. And in this context we learn, once again, more about their Arabic translator, the "under-Calinus of Jerusalem, Elphahallo. As Fabri informs us: "I often conferred with him on this subject, for he knew the Italian tongue and some bad broken German which he had learned from the pilgrims, with whom he had forty-eight times crossed the desert to Mount Sinai" (II, 106). Moreover, this Elphahallo had been sort of abducted by a well-intentioned German knight who wanted to show him Germany. He managed to get him there, but only by means of deception. Elphahallo's appearance at the imperial court and at the Holy See must have caused a sensation, but the Arab never converted to Christianity and subsequently traveled home with many gifts from the Emperor and the Pope (II, 107).

Felix Fabri, the Ingenious Communicator: A Preliminary Conclusion

Fabri's account reveals a plethora of specific situations, contacts, and discussions involving Christian pilgrims and Arabs. Although Fabri concentrates mostly on the holy sites when they spend time in Jerusalem, there are many occasions for him to reflect on the pilgrims' interactions with the locals, whether their interpreters or the inn-keepers, the ass-drivers or guides. We also hear, almost by default, of many situations in which the entire group of pilgrims has to negotiate with the local officials, begging, for instance, that the entrance fee to a special site be lowered: "we begged their lordships the Saracen rulers of the Holy City to be so good as to let us into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. To this they agreed, provided that we would pay the usual tax of five ducats for each person. But we entreated them that they would deal more mercifully with us, and abate this extreme severity, seeing that we were now few in number ...." (II, 121–22). There must have been a number of channels to communicate with the officials, and we can assume that various languages were involved in that process. Fabri normally neglects to discuss those difficulties because he wants to focus on the spiritual dimension, but we can clearly recognize the challenge that he, like all other European pilgrims, faced on a daily basis.

While Arabic appeared to be a linguistic hurdle which Fabri and most others could not take easily, if at all, they had many other linguistic means at hand to exchange their opinions or to express their wishes with the speakers of other languages, including Greek, Armenian, and Hebrew.

The Pilgrim and Linguist Arnold von Harff

This now allows us, concluding this study, to take a short look at another important example of multilingualism, also in the context of pilgrimage. Arnold von Harff (1471–1505) proves to be a medieval linguist in his own terms, since he paid closest attention to the various languages which they encountered on their pilgrimage.[55] Numerous times he created extensive word and phrase lists, beginning with Slavonic, "which extends far and wide throughout the Wendish lands …. I have noted some words from the language and write them down here."[56] Among the phrases we discover one that will reappear many times in his report: "sena potzgo spate," which he translates himself as "woman shall I sleep with you?" (77). We might wonder why a pious pilgrim would be so interested in the expression how to address a prostitute, but Arnold never explains this any further. Otherwise, he includes words for foodstuff, people, various basic objects (candle, horse, wheat, hay, straw, money, etc.), numbers, and greetings.

The next word list deals with Albanian, and the author might well have been the first to take note of and record some words in that language (78–79).[57] He also demonstrated an interest in the Greek alphabet (89) and offers translations from Greek to German, here including, once again, the question directed toward a woman whether she would be willing to sleep with him (91). Harff never explains specifically why he jotted down those foreign words, or what purpose

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55 Albrecht Classen, "Traveler, Linguist, Pilgrim, Observer, and Scientist: Arnold von Harff Explores the Near East and Finds Himself Among Fascinating Foreigners," *Ain güt geboren edel man: A Festschrift for Winder McConnell on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Gary C. Shockey with Gail E. Finney and Clifford A. Bernd. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 757 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2011), 195–248.

56 *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff* (see note 46), 76.

57 Letts, trans. (see note 46), 78, note 2; see also Elsie Robert, "The Albanian Lexicon of Arnold von Harff," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 97 (1984): 113–22; Hartmut Beckers, "Zu den Fremdalphabeten und Fremdsprachenproben im Reisebericht Arnolds von Harff (1496–198)," *Collectanea philologica: Festschrift für Helmut Gipper zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Günter Heintz and Peter Schmitter. Saecula spiritalia, 14–15 (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1985), 73–86.

he pursued with his lists. When he reflects on Arabic, for instance, he only re-
marks: "Item these heathens, called Saracens, use Arab or Moorish speech,
which sounds in and is spoken in the throat, of which I have retained some
words which are written here" (129). Not surprisingly, even here we discover
the formulation for how to approach a prostitute: "marrat nyco" (131). But the
author still could not speak or write in Arabic and had to rely on translators,
such as when he was invited to an audience with the ambassador of the ruler
of India (132–34), and when he drew up contracts with camel drivers who
were supposed to take him to Mount Sinai (134).

Harff continued with his collection of other alphabets and word lists, includ-
ing Syriac (150), Ethiopian (177), Hebrew (218–20), Turkish (244–45), Hungarian
(249–50), and Basque (267). Although he often rather fantasized and only ap-
proximated the actual letters in the various languages, and although his word
lists do not always conform to the concrete linguistic conditions in the various
countries, Harff still deserves great respect for his intensive efforts to learn for-
eign languages and to adapt to his constantly changing social environment.
This does not make him, of course, to a multilingualist, but we can recognize
how much pilgrimage could serve as an extraordinary platform to explore new
languages and to gain some skills in communicating with the local people.
Harff's account also underscores how much pilgrims had to cope with many dif-
ferent languages in the Holy Land and obviously managed quite well because
enough local people could help in translating either because they had learned
basic words necessary for the negotiations or actually originated from Europe
and had settled in Palestine or nearby countries.

From a linguistic point of view, then, Harff's account underscores another
important feature prevalent in the late Middle Ages and the early modern
world. Although he traversed vast sections of the Middle East, he encountered
German speakers virtually everywhere who had lived there already for a long
time and could thus help him as translators and political or cultural allies.[58]
Even though this and other pilgrims normally did not have enough time to
learn Arabic or other languages spoken in the Holy Land, they traversed multi-
lingual territories and had to cope with this rather complicated and challenging
situation.

He could, of course, rely on many other pilgrimage accounts, such as the one
by Bernhard von Breydenbach from 1486, especially as far as the alphabets and

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58 Classen, "Traveler, Linguist" (see note 55), 233.

language lists were concerned.[59] The latter had already remarked that the Holy Land was populated by people from many different countries. He differentiated, for instance, among the Turkomans, or Turks, the Marrochians, or Moroccans, and the Soldani (perhaps: Egyptians).[60] We also would have to consider the wider scope of related travelogues popular in the entire late Middle Ages, such as John Mandeville's *Travels*, where we also discover interesting, but then mostly fictional comments about the use of foreign languages or the presence of multilingualism.[61]

Granted, neither Fabri nor Harff were true multilingualists such as Tristan in Gottfried's eponymous romance (ca. 1210), or some of the highly educated rulers of their own time who were commonly well versed in a good handful of languages spoken in their countries, such as Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1515). But these authors operated, like all other pilgrims in the Holy Land, in a multilingual environment, and both actually accomplished their goals during their journeys by interacting with the local people and administration quite effectively, resorting either to translators or to a third language at their own command, such as Italian, to establish a functioning communicative community. Although all pilgrimage authors voiced rather harsh condemnation of the members of other religions, our two authors ultimately mollified this criticism considerably in the course of their narratives, paying considerable respect to the foreign culture and languages by way of learning as much as possible some words and phrases,

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59 Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Die Reise ins Heilige Land: Ein Reisebericht aus dem Jahre 1483*. Mit 17 Holzschnitten, 5 Faltkarten und 6 Textseiten in Faksimile; Übertragung und Nachwort von Elisabeth Geck. Expanded and correction ed. (1961; Wiesbaden: Guido Pressler, 1977); see also Helmut Brall-Tuchel, "Unterwegs im Heiligen Land: Rheinische Pilgerberichte des 14. Jahrhunderts zwischen Tradition und Augenschein," *Wallfahrt und Kulturbegegnung* (see note 35), 143–71; here 169–71 (with his study of Harff he goes, of course, well beyond his own historical timeframe). Breydenbach's text in its early-modern German format was recently re-edited, Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam: Eine Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land. Frühneuhochdeutscher Text und Übersetzung*, ed. Isolde Mozer (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010). For the glossary of Arabic words translated into Latin and German, see 779–86.

60 von Breydenbach, *Die Reise ins Heilige Land* (see note 59), 24–25. The author also includes a table of the Hebrew alphabet (26), the Greek alphabet (28), and the Chaldean alphabet (30). At the end, the author includes a long list of Arabic words translated into German (44–45).

61 *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, trans. with an intro. by C. W. R. D. Moseley (1983; London: Penguin, 2005), 67, offers a table with the Arabic script (see also 110), and later also one with the Hebrew script (93). His attempt at Chaldean (116) seems completely fictional, but all three cases confirm how much the understanding of a foreign language and the ability to read different scripts mattered for a learned person in the late Middle Ages.

and by means of reaching out to their helpers and vendors, to the various authority figures and administrators.

The Relevance of Multilingualism in Pilgrimage Accounts
Conclusion

If we pay just a little attention to the crucial information contained in these texts concerning the everyday-life conditions on the ground, we recognize in them important documents of early forms of interculturality, based on the remarkable manifestation of multilingualism. However, as Harff ultimately realized, this multilingualism was not characteristic of the Holy Land, but determined Europe just as well, whether he traversed Hungary or the Basque country. After all, when he reports of his experiences in Brittany, France, he resorts to the same words he had used in explaining the reasons for his jotting down the foreign phrases: "Item the people of Portoin or Brittany have their own language, some words of which I have remembered as they are written here" (283). Curiously, here the usual phrase used to approach a prostitute is missing, perhaps by then he was already too close to home and might have felt embarrassed to reveal his sexual interests in that context.

Although Fabri and Harff primarily composed their narratives because of a strong religious motivation not at all uncommon for the late Middle Ages, both their accounts emerge also as remarkable narrative witnesses of a multilingual world in which representatives of a variety of religions and also races came together and were forced to find a *modus vivendi* not determined by violence.[62] In that process the authors had to realize the enormous need to work with a variety of foreign languages and to reach out to the local population with any means available to them, when the linguistic gulf could not be bridged easily. Despite all their religious fervor, both writers offer astoundingly open-minded perspec-

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[62] As to the multilingual, multi-religious, and multi-ethnic conditions in Outremer during the Crusader period, see Alan Murray, "Franks and Indigenous Communities in Palestine and Syria (1099 – 1187): A Hierarchical Model of Social Interaction in the Principalities of Outremer," *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 14 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 291 – 309. See also K. A. Tuley, "A Century of Communication and Acclimatization: Interpreters and Intermediaries in the Kingdom of Jerusalem," ibid., 311 – 39.

tives toward the foreign world where they encounter a host of new and often very difficult tongues, difficult at least for the Europeans.

I suspect that the situation in Egypt, Palestine, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan of today has not changed that much for Christian pilgrims. Multilingual-ism was and continues to be a fact of life, and this also in the home territories of those pilgrimage authors. For that reason translators regularly appear on the stage both in pilgrimage accounts and in fictional travelogues, such as the anonymous prose novel, *Fortunatus* (Augsburg 1509), where the protagonist, on his way from Egypt through the Holy Land to India requests from the Sultan in Cairo guarantees for a save passage, general support, guides, and translators: "ym auch kunstleüt zugab / die steg vnd weg / vnd die sprachen wol kunden / doch alles auf seinen kosten" (that he gave him as companions informed people who would know the roads and the foreign languages, but all that at his own costs).[63]

Both on the historical ground and in the literary context there was no doubt about the multiplicity of foreign languages and the need to find good translators or to learn the other tongue/s as well in order to cope abroad well. Throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern age we come across macaronic poetry, whether we think of the *Carmina Burana* (ca. 1200–1220) or of the poetry by Os-wald von Wolkenstein (d. 1445).[64] The evidence of the early modern novel, of the

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63 Quoted from *Romane des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts: Nach den Erstausgaben mit sämtlichen Holzschnitten*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller. Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker, 1 (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1990), 489. See also Albrecht Classen, Albrecht Classen, *The German Volks-buch: A Critical History of a Late-Medieval Genre*. Studies in German Language and Literature, 15 (Lewiston, Queenston, and Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 141–62. See now also Udo Friedrich, "Providenz – Kontingenz – Erfahrung: der 'Fortunatus' im Spannungsfeld von Episteme und Schicksal in der Frühen Neuzeit," *Erzählen und Episteme: Literatur im 16. Jahr-hundert*, ed. Beate Kellner, together with Tobias Bulang (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2011), 125–56. The best comprehensive study of the *Fortunatus* continues to be the one by Hannes Kästner, *Fortunatus – Peregrinator mundi: Welterfahrung und Selbsterkenntnis im ersten deut-schen Prosaroman der Neuzeit* (Freiburg i. Br.: Verlag Rombach, 1990), who impressively places the novel in its wider cultural-historical context.

64 David Murray, "Oswald von Wolkenstein's Multilingual Songs in European Context: Theory and Practice," *German Life and Letters* 66.4 (2013): 350–67. As much as we can agree with his findings, it is rather disconcerting how much he has ignored previous research on this topic, claiming to cover new ground where most of the work has already been done. Especially the relevant research on Oswald's songs has been ignored. See, for instance, Johannes Spicker, *Oswald von Wolkenstein: Die Lieder*. Klassiker-Lektüren, 10 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2007); Albrecht Classen, ""Die 'Italian Connection' – Zu einem Brief an einen Wolkensteiner und zu provenzalischen Quellen für Oswalds von Wolkenstein polyglosse Lieder," *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein Gesellschaft* 4 (1986/87), 155–62; id., ""Polyglots in Medieval German Litera-

jest narrative, and songbooks from the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries confirms the global interest in and need to cope with many different languages, often at the same time.[65] While in England or Spain the parallel existence of various languages was almost the norm,[66] while members of the Hanseatic League diligently worked toward the goal of acquiring linguistic skills in order to communicate with their trading partners, and so forth, both poets and pilgrimage authors poignantly engaged with the multilingual situation which they encountered on their travels to foreign countries. In short, cultural history gains many insights if we study the past through the lens of multilingualism. It was undoubtedly a critical aspect of the premodern world.

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ture: Outsiders, Critics, or Revolutionaries? Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan*, Wernher the Gardener's *Helmbrecht*, and Oswald von Wolkenstein," *Neophilologus* 91.1 (2007): 101–15.

65 Friedrich Wilhelm Genthe, *Geschichte der Macaronischen Poesie, und Sammlung ihrer vorzüglichen Denkmale* (1829/1836; Wiesbaden: M. Sändig, 1966); Teofilo Folengo, *Le Maccheronee*, ed. Alessandro Luzio. 2 vols. Scrittori d'Italia (Bari: G. Laterza, 1911); William Otto Wehrle, "The Macaronic Hymn Tradition in Medieval English Literature," Ph. D. thesis, Washington, DC, Catholic University of America, 1933. An excellent survey of medieval and modern examples can be found at *Wikipedia*, online at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Macaronic_language (last accessed on June 8, 2012).

66 *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066–1520). Sources and Analysis*, ed. Ad Putter and Judith Jefferson. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

Helena Halmari and Timothy Regetz
(Sam Houston State University and Blinn College)

Language Switching and Alliteration in Oxford, MS Bodley 649

Background

By the late twentieth century, it had become obvious that bilinguals code-switch for many different reasons. These reasons can be context-related and rhetorical: switching from one language to another may take place for emphasis, for quotations, for evaluation, for participant recognition, and for alignment and bonding.[1] Code-switching is also used to fill lexical gaps and to signal the fact that the speaker is moving from one rhetorical task to another.[2] When studying bilingual behavior today, we can ask the bilingual speakers why they chose to use one language instead of the other in the course of one speech situation. This possibility is naturally not available in the study of historical bilingual texts, where cues to the motivations for language choice must be looked for mostly within the texts themselves—or within the social context of the document (in so far as we know it).[3] In this article, we will investigate one genre of these historical bilingual texts: medieval Latin-English macaronic sermons.

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1 See, e.g., Evelyn Hatch, "Studies in Language Switching and Mixing," *Language and Man: Anthropological Issues*, ed. William Charles McCormack and Stephen A. Wurm. World Anthropologies (The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter, 1976), 201–14; John J. Gumperz, *Discourse Strategies*. Studies in Interactional Linguistics, 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Erica McClure and Malcolm McClure "Macro- and Micro-Sociolinguistic Dimensions of Code-Switching in Vingard," *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, ed. Monica Heller. Contributions to the Sociology of Language, 48 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988), 25–51; Jan-Petter Blom and John J. Gumperz, "Social Meaning in Linguistic Structure: Code-Switching in Norway," *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*, ed. John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 407–34.
2 Maisa Martin and Pertti Virtaranta, "Siirtolaisten käsityksiä äidinkielestään ja englannista" [Immigrants' Opinions of Their Mother Tongue and English], *Amerikansuomi* [*American Finnish*], ed. Pertti Virtaranta, Hannele Jönsson-Korhola, Maisa Martin, and Maija Kainulainen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1993), 159–67; J. C. P. Auer, *Bilingual Conversation* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1984).
3 For analyses of written multilingual texts from a number of perspectives (historical, methodological) drawing data from various sources, see *Language Mixing and Code-Switching in Writing: Approaches to Mixed-Language Written Discourse*, ed. Mark Sebba, Shahrzad Mahootian, and Carla Jonsson. Routledge Critical Studies in Multilingualism, 2 (New York and London: Rout-

Medieval macaronic sermons have presented an enigma for researchers. Why does the sermon writer not restrict himself to the default language of academic sermons, Latin? What is going on with the back-and-forth between Latin and Middle English, Middle English and Latin? What is the role of English in these predominantly Latin sermons? Is code-switching tied to any other rhetorical strategies such as alliteration? The outer appearance of medieval macaronic sermons seems to fall into similar patterns as what Myers-Scotton calls code-switching as "unmarked choice,"[4] and while the sermons' juxtaposition with the patterns of modern-day insertional spoken code-switching shows striking similarity, we wonder if it is possible to claim that clear stylistic patterns might be shared between two distant genres (spoken vs. written), levels of formality (casual, naturally occurring conversation among fellow bilinguals vs. scholastic sermons addressed to a highly educated audience of multilinguals), and across centuries (the twenty-first century vs. the early 1400s). This article will only begin to answer these questions, and it will do so by taking a detailed look at a small sample from Oxford, MS Bodley 649, a collection of early fifteenth-century scholastic, bilingual sermons. Our main focus in this paper is to examine the connection between code-switching and alliteration.

Oxford, MS Bodley 649 is a collection of late medieval scholastic sermons from the first part of the fifteenth century. Scholars have noted that this sermon collection includes several topical, caustic denunciations of the Lollards.[5] From a linguistic standpoint, what is remarkable about this collection is that it includes a set of twenty-three sermons that are bilingual: they are written predominantly in the expected, default sermon language, Latin, but they are, here and there, accentuated by Middle English words, phrases, and sentences. These mixed-lan-

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ledge, 2012). For a collection of research on historical code-switching, see *Code-Switching in Early English*, ed. Herbert Schendl and Laura Wright. Topics in English Linguistics, 76 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter Mouton, 2011). Cf. also Richard Ingham and Imogen Marcus, "Vernacular Bilingualism in Professional Spaces, 1200 to 1400," who discuss the possible reasons behind the use of Anglo-Norman in professional documents in medieval England (in this volume).

4 Carol Myers-Scotton, *Social Motivations for Codeswitching: Evidence from Africa*. Oxford Studies in Language Contact (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 81.

5 See, e.g., Roy M. Haines, "'Wilde Wittes and Wilfulnes': John Swetstock's Attack on those 'Poyswunmongeres,' the Lollards," *Studies in Church History* 8 (1972): 143–53; id., "'Our Master Mariner, Our Sovereign Lord': A Contemporary Preacher's View of King Henry V," *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976): 85–96; Patrick J. Horner, "Benedictines and Preaching in Fifteenth-Century England: The Evidence of Two Bodleian Library Manuscripts," *Revue Bénédictine* 99 (1989): 313–32; id., "'The King Taught Us the Lesson': Benedictine Support for Henry V's Suppression of the Lollards," *Mediaeval Studies* 52 (1990): 190–220.

guage, bilingual sermons thus stand as evidence and as a tangible reflection of the linguistic complexity of late medieval England—what Siegfried Wenzel, an eminent authority on these particular sermons, refers to as "bilingualism in action."[6]

These sermons are not the only genre where this kind of language mixing was the practice; there were poems, letters, and business documents written in combinations of English, French, and Latin.[7] Not only has this type of switching been regarded as random; until relatively recently, these multilingual texts have mostly been ignored. In addition, negative attitudes are reflected in the very term *macaronic*, used to describe these bilingual texts. *Oxford English Dictionary* defines this term as follows (1):

(1) Of or designating a burlesque form of verse in which vernacular words are introduced into the context of another language (originally and chiefly Latin), often with corresponding inflections and constructions; *gen.* of or designating any form of verse in which two or more languages are mingled together. Hence of language, style, etc.: resembling the mixed jargon of macaronic poetry.[8]

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6 Siegfried Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England*. Recentiores: Later Latin Texts and Contexts, 3 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 105 – 29. See also Albrecht Classen, "Multilingualism in Medieval Europe: Pilgrimage, Travel, Diplomacy, and Linguistic Challenges. The Case of Felix Fabri and His Contemporaries" (in this volume); Herbert Schendl, "Code-Switching in Late Medieval Macaronic Sermons," *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066 – 1520): Sources and Analysis*, ed. Judith Jefferson and Ad Putter. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 153 –69. See also Herbert Schendl, "Literacy, Multilingualism and Code-Switching in Early English Written Texts," *Language Mixing and Code-Switching in Writing: Approaches to Mixed-Language Written Discourse*, ed. Mark Sebba, Shahrzad Mahootian, and Carla Jonsson. Routledge Critical Studies in Multilingualism, 2 (New York and London, Routledge, 2012), 27 – 43; here 36 – 39. For the use of Anglo-Norman in England, see, e.g., William Rothwell, "English and French in England after 1362," *English Studies* 82 (2001): 539 – 59; Richard Ingham and Imogen Marcus, "Vernacular Bilingualism in Professional Spaces" (see note 3).
7 See, e.g., Elizabeth Archibald, "Macaronic Poetry," *A Companion to Medieval Poetry*, ed. Corinne Saunders. Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 277 – 99; Arja Nurmi and Päivi Pahta, "Multilingual Practices in Women's English Correspondence 1400 – 1800," *Language Mixing and Code-Switching in Writing: Approaches to Mixed-Language Written Discourse*, ed. Mark Sebba, Shahrzad Mahootian, and Carla Jonsson. Routledge Critical Studies in Multilingualism, 2 (New York and London: Routledge, 2012), 44 – 67; Laura Wright, "Code-Intermediate Phenomena in Medieval Mixed-Language Business Texts," *Language Sciences* 24 (2002): 471 – 89; Richard Ingham and Imogen Marcus, "Vernacular Bilingualism in Professional Spaces" (see note 3).
8 "macaronic, adj.2". *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com (last accessed on May 1, 2015).

In this definition, the attitude of the entry's compiler is particularly reflected in the word "burlesque." The entry also sees macaronic poetry as the primary genre that mixed two or more languages into Latin. Of course, macaronic texts were relatively common and appeared across a number of different genres.

The implied negative attitudes have also been expressed by some twentieth-century literary critics, who write about medieval mixed-language texts. Ernst Robert Curtius is a case in point. Curtius discusses the great Italian macaronic poet Teofilus Folengo (1491–1544), who in his poems regularly mixed Italian vernacular dialect with Latin:

(2)   [Teofilo Folengo's] inner discord is reflected in the linguistic form which he chose for his
      epic parody *Baldus* (first published in 1517)—macaronic Latin. His Muses feed him on mac-
      aroni and polenta ... The macaronic epic remained a thing apart, an episode. But it illumi-
      nates the intellectual crisis of the period, as the intellectual crisis of our day is illuminated
      by our contemporary macaronic prose epic, James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake*.[9]

Perhaps because of these attitudes, until relatively recently, little research was expended on macaronic texts.[10]

Despite the negative sentiments reflected in the somewhat pejorative term *macaronic*, and despite the fact that even those who have dedicated their scholarly lives to the detailed description of macaronic sermons call this phenomenon "random,"[11] it has also been shown to follow certain fundamental grammatical principles.[12]

Not only the grammar but also the rhetorical aspects of these sermons have been described in detail by Wenzel, and even though he clearly emphasizes the random nature of switching (both from syntactic and rhetorical aspects),[13] we

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9 Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W. R. Trask (1948; English trans. 1953; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 242–43.
10 For more on the negative attitudes toward code-switching, see Herbert Schendl and Laura Wright, "Code-Switching in Early English: Historical Background and Methodological and Theoretical Issues," *Code-Switching in Early English*, ed. Herbert Schendl and Laura Wright. Topics in English Linguistics, 76 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter Mouton, 2011), 15–45.
11 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons* (see note 6), 101.
12 See, e.g., Herbert Schendl, "Linguistic Aspects of Code-Switching in Medieval English Texts," *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. D. A. Trotter (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), 77–92; Helena Halmari and Timothy Regetz, "Syntactic Aspects of Code-Switching in Oxford, MS Bodley 649," *Code-Switching in Early English,* ed. Herbert Schendl and Laura Wright. Topics in English Linguistics, 76 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter Mouton, 2011), 115–53.
13 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons* (see note 6), 101.

claim that the randomness is only seemingly the case, a surface phenomenon, and that another detailed look at the English elements can help us to reveal patterns that enhance the oratory character and the message.[14] The rhetorical manifestations of this type of switching can never be predicted; however, they can mostly be explained, albeit *post facto*. Despite the seeming randomness of language choice, it is possible to speculate in many instances why the author of Bodley 649 chooses to resort to English in this mostly Latin genre of scholastic sermons.

In Oxford, MS Bodley 649, English is used for two obvious purposes, as detailed by Wenzel: (1) for quotations, glosses, translations, and vernacular sayings; and (2) to indicate the sermon's rhetorical structure.[15] These motivations do not cover all the switches, however, as in addition to the transparent motivations behind those code-switches that Wenzel calls *a* and *b* elements and which are used to gloss and translate or to indicate the divisions and subdivisions of the sermons, the motivations of the remaining switches seem to be mostly rhetorical: the Bodley 649 author uses English as a powerful rhetorical device and audience-engagement strategy: he uses English to keep his audience awake— or to shake them awake.

A number of patterns can be detected, and these patterns of language switching often add to the rhetorical effect of the sermons.

The manuscript that contains these sermons is small in dimension, written in one hand.[16] It has been described in detail by Patrick Horner in his 2006 edition, which contains a parallel-page transcription of the manuscript on the right and translation into present-day English on the left. We credit Horner for all the translations here. To illustrate the macaronic nature of these sermons, we will briefly discuss the first three switches into English on the very first page of the manuscript, the opening of Sermo 1 (examples 3–5 below).

Example (3) shows the transcription of the beginning of Sermo 1.[17] Sermo 1 starts in Latin (*Nunc dies salutis, secunda ad Corinthios sextum*); it makes an explicit announcement in Latin of the change of language (*Anglice*), switches to

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14 See also Tim William Machan, "The Visual Pragmatics of Code-Switching in Late Middle English Literature," *Code-Switching in Early English*, ed. Herbert Schendl and Laura Wright. Topics in English Linguistics, 76 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter Mouton, 2011), 303–33.
15 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons* (see note 6), 17.
16 Patrick J. Horner, *A Macaronic Sermon Collection from Late Medieval England: Oxford MS Bodley 649*. Studies and Texts, 153 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2006), 3. All subsequent references to the Bodley 649 sermons are based on this edition and will be parenthetically noted in the text according to page number.
17 Throughout all examples, English is marked in bold italics.

English for two rhyming lines (*Alle seke and woful come to weele, Now is a day of gostle hele*), and then switches back to Latin, without any announcement: *Lego in scriptura sacra:*

(3) Nunc dies salutis, 2ᵃ ad Corinthios VI. Anglice: **Alle seke and woful come to weele, Now is a day of gostle hele.** Lego in scriptura sacra ...

[Now is the day of salvation, 2nd Corinthians 6. In English: **All who are sick and sorrowful come to wealth, Now is the day of spiritual health.** I read in sacred scripture ...] (26 – 27)

In example (3), the switch to English is announced. However, it is rare that the change of language is indicated explicitly. On folio 1r there are two other shifts into English, which the sermonist does not announce at all: at the end of line 7 it is possible to see the English *and enbatelet hom* 'and fought [him]'; however, these Middle English words are embedded in the surrounding Latin without any overt indication (example 4):

(4) ... inuictus conquestor Iosue ad preceptum Moisi cepit secum electum exercitum **and enbatelet hom** contra istum tirannum.

[... invincible leader Joshua, at the command of Moses, took a hand-picked army **and fought** against this tyrant.] (26 – 27)

Nothing else in this long sentence in example (4) is in English except *and enbatelet hom* 'and fought [him].'

A third switch to English on folio 1r of Sermo 1 consists of only one word: the preposition *of* in the beginning of line 28. This English preposition is embedded in an otherwise completely Latin sentence (example 5):

(5) Istud est acutum bellum et terribile, asperius bellis **of** Peyteris et Hispanie.

[This is a brutal, terrifying battle, fiercer than the battles **of** Poitiers and Spain.] (26 – 27)

These three examples from folio 1r of Oxford, MS Bodley 649 illustrate some of the different types of code-switches, typical of this sermon collection. Example (3) above announces the switching explicitly and consists of an entire syntactic unit, a sentence. Example (4) shows a switch from Latin to English at a clause boundary. These two examples illustrate that switching is not syntactically random but often appears at a clear structural boundary, as we have demonstrated

in previous work.[18] Example (5), however, escapes immediate explanation from a syntactic point of view; on the other hand, the English preposition *of* here precedes its complement, which, as a proper noun, is of ambiguous language assignment. What the three examples on the opening page of the sermon collection illustrate is the varied nature of mixing English into surrounding Latin text.

But let us look at example (3) in more detail. Switching into English is not the only rhetorical choice that the sermon writer makes there. The switch includes also an example of alliteration (*woful—weele*) and a rhyme (*weele—hele*). In fact, this is what is quite common in this sermon collection. Even though the switches of language are probably the most salient rhetorical features, they often coincide with other rhetorical techniques—in this case, these additional features are rhyme and alliteration. Expectedly, in these prose, scholarly sermons, rhyming is not extremely common; however, alliteration is. It is actually so common in these sermons, and apparently coincides with a switch into Middle English, that scholars before us like Siegfried Wenzel have raised the question of a potential correlation between the two rhetorical devices.[19] This is the very question that drives our paper.

Alliterative Patterns and Language Switching in Oxford, MS Bodley 649

The macaronic nature of MS Bodley 649 is the first striking feature that catches the attention of anyone looking at this early fifteenth-century sermon collection. Other, stylistic, features coinciding with switches to English, appear in these sermons as well: parallelisms, English proverbial elements, and alliteration.[20] Wenzel discusses how these features may be "possible stylistic causes of macaronic texts".[21] Our purpose in this article is to focus on only one of the patterns: the coincidence of Latin-English-Latin switching and alliteration.

As we have mentioned above, the reason for this type of language mixing in a non-literary genre like sermons has been the cause of puzzlement; Siegfried Wenzel, the eminent expert in the field, who calls it "a random phenomenon," furthermore argues that

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18 Halmari and Regetz, "Syntactic Aspects" (see note 12), 129–30.
19 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons* (see note 6), 89–90.
20 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons* (see note 6), 88–95.
21 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons* (see note 6), 91.

> [o]ne must conclude that the macaronic texture of these sermons was caused neither by the unavailability of technical words or idiomatic expressions in Latin *nor by their writers' desire to create alliteration*, macaronic doublets, parallelism, and other stylistic effects. Rather, their switching is a random phenomenon for which all-encompassing causes, whether linguistic, stylistic, or psychological, are hard to find.[22]

On the other hand, Wenzel also states that in this sermon collection "alliterative phrases tend to 'come naturally.'"[23] That is, even though alliteration is a salient feature, it does not attract attention to itself. Therefore, if Wenzel says that code-switching is "random" while alliteration in the English parts of the sermons comes "naturally," then we are left to account for these phenomena together, as no one denies that alliteration occasionally coincides with the English elements in the otherwise Latin sermons.

Instances of the coincidence of alliteration and code-switching are not hard to come by in the sermons of Bodley 649. The following excerpt illustrates switching to English (twice) and its co-occurrence with alliteration:

(6) Si fueris *a lecchour* sequens delectaciones corporis, colis falsam deam, **Þe ladi of lust**; eius mammona in tua anima est fetens hircus luxurie.

[If you are *a lecher* following the delights of the body, you cherish a false goddess, **the lady of lust**; her idol in your soul is the stinking goat of luxury.] (224–25)

The content of the English phrases in example (6) is direct and non-euphemistic, and the phrases also alliterate: *a lecchour, Þe ladi of lust*. However, as in the sermons of Bodley 649 in general, alliteration in (6) is not restricted to code-switched elements: we find the Latin word *luxurie* 'luxury' at the end of the sentence, as if tying with the stylistic feature of alliteration the entire idea expressed in the sentence into a stylistically and semantically coherent, striking message. And here, as elsewhere in this sermon collection, alliteration coincides with the switch of language. We agree with Wenzel in that alliteration does not need to be seen as the motivation behind language assignment.[24] As Wenzel calls for a detailed linguistic analysis of the alliterative patterns and their coincidence with language switching,[25] in the remainder of this paper, our purpose is to do exactly this.

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22 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons* (see note 6) 101; emphasis ours.
23 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons* (see note 6), 89.
24 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons* (see note 6), 89–90.
25 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons* (see note 6), 90n.16.

An Analysis of Code-Switching and Alliteration in Sermo 10, *Abiit trans mare*

To make our investigation of the potential correlation between alliteration and code-switching more manageable, from Horner's collection of twenty-three macaronic (Latin/English) sermons, we focus on Sermo 10, *Abiit trans mare*, Iohannis 6. This is a fascinating sermon with plenty of references to ships, storms, and seafaring metaphors, as well as an abundance of code-switches.

Of the total 7,090 words in this sermon, 86 percent (N = 6,125) are Latin words and 14 percent (N = 965) are English. Among the macaronic sermons in Wenzel's corpus, this distribution is fairly typical, but the number of switches (over 200) is somewhat higher than the average (ca. 140 switches per sermon). Table 1 summarizes the distribution of Latin and English in Sermo 10:

Table 1. Distribution of Latin and English words (N = 7,090) in Sermo 10.

Total words	7,090	(100 %)
Latin words	6,125	(86 %)
English words	965	(14 %)

Wenzel counts 248 code-switches in Sermo 10; however, according to our count, this sermon contains 234 switches. This minor discrepancy between our count and Wenzel's may be attributed to the fact that there remains some confusion as to what constitutes a separate switch.[26] We will here take our more conservative number, 234 switches, as the starting point and ask the following question: what kinds of alliteration patterns—if any—do these 234 switches exhibit?

There are four possibilities for the distribution of alliteration and code-switching. Each of these four cases is illustrated below with examples from Sermo 10 (examples 7–10). The most obvious possibility, of course, is that there is no correlation between alliteration and switching (examples in [7] below); we call this our "null hypothesis." Another possibility is that alliteration occurs outside of switching, that is, strictly in the matrix language, Latin (examples in [8]). Third, alliteration may occur across the switching boundary (examples in [9]). And the fourth possibility is that alliteration occurs within English (examples in [10]).

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26 This issue is addressed more fully by Halmari and Regetz, "Syntactic Aspects" (see note 12), 126–28.

A word on methodology: the unit of analysis throughout this article is the sentence; in other words, we are excluding from our analysis any cases of alliteration that cross the syntactic boundary of the sentence. Only English content words are included in the alliteration counts, even though, to ensure that we are not manipulating our results by minimizing alliteration within Latin (instances of alliteration that do not coincide with the switch into English), we have also included in our counts alliterating Latin pronouns (see, e. g., *sue* in example [8b] below) and prepositions (e. g., *sine* and *per* as in examples [9a] and [9d]).

We have calculated the total of 142 instances of alliteration in Sermo 10 (Table 2):

Table 2. Different types of alliteration in Sermo 10 (N = 142).

Total cases of alliteration	142	(100 %)
Alliteration across Latin and English	20	(14 %)
Alliteration within Latin	70	(49 %)
Alliteration within English	52	(37 %)

A Alliteration is not connected with switching

Examples (7a – d) illustrate switches where alliteration does not coincide with the switch to English:

(7) (a) Deus **send vs** bonum portum!
[God **send us** good harbor!] (262 – 63)
  (b) ... quilibet capiat remum deuote oracionis **and let vs alle rowe** pariter orando ipsum Dominum ...
[... let each one take the oar of devout prayer **and let us all row** together by praying the Lord himself ...] (262 – 63)
  (c) ... plenus tempestatibus et **stormis** laboris et tribulacionis, **miserie** et doloris.
[... full of tempests and **storms** of labor and tribulation, of **misery** and sorrow.] (262 – 63)
  (d) ... per istos **cursed errours.**
[... through these **cursed errors.**] (276 – 77)

None of the above switched English elements within Latin sentences involve alliteration. Of the 234 insertional switches in Sermo 10, 162 are like the switches in (7): they do not involve alliteration (see Table 3 below). Thus, 69 percent of the switches do not coincide with alliteration. This is a significant number of switches that does not confirm a connection between alliteration and switching; yet we believe that a connection exists, as 31 percent of switches (N=72) did in-

volve alliteration (see Table 3 below). This connection will not, however, be a one-to-one match between these two rhetorical strategies, as a good orator, regardless of the rhetorical device that he is employing, will not be too predictable. When the number of 162 non-alliterating switches is compared to the number of all the sermon's words (the 7,090 Latin and English), we can calculate the proportion of these switches: 23 non-alliterating switches per 1,000 words.

B Monolingual Latin segments alliterate

The next set of examples (8a–d) illustrates the case where alliteration appears within Latin, as it is true that alliteration is also quite prevalent in the Latin segments of the sermon:

(8) (a) **M**iser **m**undus **m**ari bene poterit comparari ...
        [The miserable world could be well compared to the sea ...] (262–63)
    (b) Et in **s**ignum **s**ue **s**ublimis glorie ...
        [And as a sign of her sublime glory ...] (282–83)
    (c) ... **p**rocura quot **p**reces **p**oteris ...
        [... atone with as many prayers as you can ...] (284–85)
    (d) Isto modo in omni **p**ericulo **p**eccati ...
        [In this way in every danger of sin ...] (288–89)

Out of the 6,125 Latin words in Sermo 10, there are 70 such instances of Latin alliteration. In other words, there are 11.4 cases of alliteration per 1,000 monolingual Latin words (N=6,125) (see Table 5 below).

C Alliteration spans across both languages

The third possibility is that alliteration may span across Latin and English (examples 9a–d):

(9) (a) Omnes **s**aluabantur per nauim misericordie ***and ouer**s**eiled þe **s**ee of **s**ynne to blis ***
        sine fine.
        [All were saved through the ship of mercy ***and sailed over the see of sin to bliss*** without end.] (292–93)
    (b) ... nauis defensores, ***þe **m**anful*** **m**iliciam; remiges et **m**inistros infra nauem, fidelem communitatem.
        [... the defenders of the ship, ***the manly*** warriors; the oarsmen and ministers within the ship, the faithful commons.] (262–63)
    (c) ... ***s**trik **s**eil*** in **s**ecundo, ***serue þe depis*** in tercio.

[... ***strike sail*** in the second, and ***keep to the depths*** in the third.] (264 – 65)

(d) ... ***and ouersailed þes perlouse sees*** <u>p</u>er <u>p</u>acienciam ***and passion sufferinge þus to saue***, etc.

[... ***and sailed over these perilous seas*** through patience ***and passion, suffering thus to save***, etc.] (264 – 65)

Of the 72 switches that include alliteration in Sermo 10, 20 (or 28 percent) include alliteration that spans across Latin and English (see Table 2 above). Despite the obvious difference in the languages represented by these examples, there is a common element in the shared alliteration displayed in the above examples. Those switches that contain alliteration across both English and Latin show that code-switching is not a rhetorically empty choice. The sermonist uses alliteration across the languages and across the switch, showing that alliteration is an important rhetorical element to punctuate his hortative message.

D Alliteration is associated with the switch to English

In examples (10a – d), alliteration coincides with the switch to English, happens within the English segment of the sentence, and does not span outside the English elements into the surrounding Latin within this same sentence:

(10) (a) ... certe omnes transierunt vnam viam, omnes ***<u>w</u>ent to <u>w</u>rek.***

... surely all went down the same path, all ***went to wreck.***] (268 – 69)

(b) ... set nunc sanitas nunc infirmitas, nunc leticia nunc molestia, nunc ***<u>w</u>eel*** nunc ***<u>w</u>oo***, nunc ***frende*** nunc ***foo*** – ita <u>m</u>ouetur <u>m</u>undus.

[... for at one point health then sickness, now happiness now trouble, now ***weal*** now ***woe***, now ***friend*** now ***foe*** – so goes the world.] (262 – 63)

(c) ... omnes perierunt in illo ***<u>s</u>ynful <u>s</u>e and <u>s</u>onk doun*** ad infernum.

[... all perished in that ***sinful sea and sunk down*** to hell.] (268 – 69)

(d) ... ***more schaply to <u>b</u>reke þan <u>b</u>owe, lay þi <u>b</u>oke asyde*** et operare per discrecionem.

[... ***more likely to break than to bend, lay your book aside*** and use your discretion.] (270 – 71)

Fifty-two switches of 234 are of this type, which means that in 22 percent of switches, the switch into English alliterates within the English. Because Sermo 10 has 965 English words, there are 54 cases per 1,000 words where switching to English co-incides with alliteration with English (Table 5 below).

Discussion

As Table 1 above indicates, Sermo 10 consists of 7,090 words, of which 6,125 words (86 percent) are in Latin and 965 words (14 percent) are in English. Within this text, we calculate 234 switches into English. Table 3 shows the distribution of switches that do not involve alliteration (N=162) versus switches that do involve alliteration (N=72):

Table 3. Switching and alliteration in Sermo 10 (7,090 words).

Total number of switches	234	(100 %)
Switches with no alliteration	162	(69 %)
Switches associated with alliteration	72	(31 %)

Clearly, the number of switches with no alliteration outweighs those that do contain alliteration. This finding does not seem to support our or Wenzel's intuition that alliteration coincides with the switch to English. However, the switches that are associated with alliteration still comprise nearly a third of all the switches in Sermo 10 (31 percent). While there are no numbers to support the claim, it is unlikely that natural language would alliterate one third of the time. Therefore, the 31 percent of the switches that do alliterate must represent a pattern, where the sermonist is saturating the switches with alliterative language.

Let us next focus on these cases of code-switching that coincide with alliteration—the 72 (31 percent) of the 234 total switches in Sermo 10. Table 4 provides a breakdown of the two possible alliteration types—those alliterations that occur only inside the switches into English and those that alliterate across languages (Latin/English, English/Latin, or Latin/English/Latin):

Table 4. Alliteration within English and spanning Latin/English.

Switches associated with alliteration	72	(100 %)
Alliteration only within English	52	(72 %)
Alliteration across English and Latin	20	(28 %)

Seventy-two percent of switches that are associated with alliteration take place within the switched English element (N=52). Examples in (10) above illustrate this.

These results show that there is a correlation between code-switching and alliteration in Sermo 10. Table 5 below demonstrates the frequency of this coin-

cidence using a common metric in conversation analysis, the frequency of the phenomenon per 1,000 words:

Table 5. Frequency of alliteration per 1,000 words.

	Per 1,000 words
Any alliteration per 1,000 words (142 alliterations per 7,090 total words)	20
Alliteration spanning English and Latin per 1,000 words (20 alliterations per 7,090 total words)	3
Latin alliteration per 1,000 Latin words (70 alliterations per 6,125 Latin words)	11
English alliteration per 1,000 English words (52 alliterations per 965 English words)	**54**

The disposition to alliterate is evident in all areas of the sermon, whether the sermonist is alliterating in Latin, in Latin and English, or strictly in English. As these numbers show, however, the tendency of the sermonist to alliterate is overwhelmingly strongest, as counted per cases of alliteration per 1,000 words, when he is using English: 54 instances of alliteration per 1,000 words. In fact, the occurrence of English alliteration is five times that of Latin alliteration in Sermo 10, which reveals that while the sermonist alliterates regardless of the language he is using, this predilection for alliteration is most evident in the English switches.

The numbers in Table 2 above (for ease of reference repeated here in Table 6) underscore the same result while listing the cases of the different types of alliterative instances in terms of the co-occurrence of alliteration and language, out of the 142 total instances of alliteration in Sermo 10:

Table 6. Alliteration and language.

Total cases of alliteration	142	(100 %)
Across Latin and English	20	(14 %)
Within Latin	70	(49 %)
Within English	52	(37 %)

Even though the raw number of alliterations within Latin is the largest (70), one has to remember that Latin words constitute 86 percent of the Sermo 10's word stock: 6,125 words. In relation to the 965 English words, the 52 instances of English switches that contain alliteration are proportionately significant. The calculations of frequencies per 1,000 words (Table 5) verify the co-occurrence of alliteration and code-switching most dramatically,

Conclusion

The strong pragmatic motivations for code-switching as established based on to-day's spoken corpora are clearly attested also in medieval macaronic sermons. Code-switching is used as an audience-engagement strategy, but it is never possible to predict precisely when a switch will take place. The content of the switch is often colorful; however, the mere fact that the sermon-writer moves from Latin to English and back to Latin again makes his sermons striking, greatly enhancing their hortative power. Furthermore, his use of alliteration underscores many of his significant hortative moments. What is perhaps most notable is the coincidence of these two distinct rhetorical devices, code-switching and alliteration. It is a sign of the orator's skill that he incorporates such devices into his sermon. Accounting for the coincidence of alliteration and code-switching in macaronic sermons may also help to explain what Roy M. Haines, one of the most capable scholars working on this Bodley 649 sermon collection, called "the interpolation of arresting—albeit to our ears incongruous—passages in English".[27]

Alliteration is a well-established rhetorical technique used by orators. In medieval sermons, the use of alliteration may well have been common and expected, as it reflects the same stylistic pattern as employed in the contemporary alliterative poetry, such as *Piers Plowman* and the works of the *Pearl*-poet. It is thus not only a part of the culture of the oral, rhetorical tradition but also of the alliterative revival in the late Middle Ages. While those poetic works clearly display a much more frequent use of English alliteration, we find a similar tendency in Sermo 10 of the Bodley 649 collection. One might wonder why this sermon contains a less rigid use of alliteration than the poetry of William Langland, for example. We posit that the answer to this lies in the genre of Sermo 10, that despite containing elements of poetry (most notably, rhyme), it remains an academic sermon that was likely spoken to an Oxford audience. As is the case with any stylistic strategy, if overused, alliteration loses its rhetorical power, and the writer of Sermo 10 limits his use of this rhetorical device accordingly. He further enhances the rhetorical strength of his sermon with a regular reliance on code-switching.

As our analysis of the sermonist's use of these two rhetorical strategies shows, his switching from Latin to English is frequently associated with his use of alliteration in English. By quantifying the occurrences of the patterns of alliteration and its coincidence with code-switching, it is possible to gain some insight into the use of alliteration as a stylistic device in the macaronic ser-

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27 Roy Haines, "Church, Society and Politics in the Early Fifteenth Century as Viewed from an English Pulpit," *Studies in Church History* 12 (1975): 143–57; here 143.

mons of the MS Bodley 649 author. The use of alliteration is frequent and varied; it is not mechanical, and it greatly contributes to the rhetorical power of these scholastic sermons, interesting for their macaronic nature. We also argue that the intertextual connection to alliterative poetry enhances the solemnity, authority, and poetic associations of these late medieval prose texts.

Kimberly A. Eherenman (University of San Diego)
The Devil Is in the Details

How Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's Trilingualism Missed
the Mark in New Spain

'Ubique daemon.'
The devil is everywhere.

Satan was lurking around every corner in sixteenth-century New Spain. Fray
Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590), a monk who was among the second offi-
cial group of Franciscans to travel to New Spain in 1529, was convinced of it.
In his magnum opus *La historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (*The
General History of the Things of New Spain*),[1] we find that the millennium-in-

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1 The reader will find Sahagún's major work has been published under two different titles. It is
also referred to as *La historia universal de las cosas de la Nueva España* [*The Universal History of
the Things of New Spain*]. A controversy remains over which title is the most appropriate. I will
refer to this work as the *General History of the Things of New Spain*, as it is more widely known
[*The Florentine Codex. General History of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson and
Charles E. Dibble. Monographs of the School of American Research (Santa Fe, NM: The School of
American Research and the University of Utah, 1982]. *The General History of the Things of New
Spain* has a complicated and somewhat convoluted history. Several extant versions of Sahagún's
work are available in different stages of completion and under different names in different parts
of the world. The most complete version is known as *El códice florentino* (*The Florentine Codex*)
since it resides in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, in Florence, Italy. Its beautiful folios can
be assessed on the library's website at: http://www.bml.firenze.sbn.it/index_ing.htm (last ac-
cessed on Jan. 31, 2015). For a fascinating glimpse into the history of this work and its different
stages and versions, see María José García Quintana, "Historia de una historia," *Estudios de
Cultura Náhuatl* 29 (Mexico, Universidad Autónoma de México, 1999), 163–87; as well as the
study by José Luis Martínez entitled "*El 'Códice Florentino' y la 'Historia General' de Sahagún*,"
2nd rev. ed. (1982; Mexico: Archivo General de la Nación and Eduardo Molina y Albañiles,
1989). Additional information on the different compilations of the *General History* in their
various stages of completion can be found in Howard Cline, "Evolution of *Historia General*,"
Handbook of Middle American Indians, vol. 13 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1973), 189–
207; and Charles E. Dibble, "Sahagún's *Historia*," *The Florentine Codex. General History of New
Spain*, ed. and trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. Monographs of the School of
American Research, 14, I (1950; Santa Fe, NM: The School of American Research and The
University of Utah, 1982), 9–23. Additional studies include: *Bernardino de Sahagún: Diez
estudios acerca de su obra*, ed. and intro. Ascensión Hernández de León-Portilla (Mexico: Fondo
de Cultura Económica, 1990), and Victoria Ríos Castaño, *Translation as Conquest: Sahagún
and the Universal History of the Things of New Spain* (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt a. M.:
Vervuert, 2014).

spired conversion efforts of the famous Franciscan Twelve, the first group of Franciscans to arrive in the New World in 1524, had failed and had instead produced widespread apostasy and idolatry. Within a span of five years, the members of the Franciscan Order who previously held the fervent hope that the Catholic Church would be reborn in these newly discovered and conquered Nahua lands would find their expectations dashed and their struggles with the devil and his "followers" just beginning.

The Nahua tribes had originally come to the Valley of Mexico in a series of different migrations. The first group split off from the other Uto-Aztecan tribes that occupied the southwestern portion of what is now the United States and the northwestern portion of what is now Mexico around 500 C.E. Little by little, these different Nahua groups garnered the momentum necessary to gain dominance over the non-Nahua tribes who were living in this region. The Toltecs, for example, believed to be of Nahua ethnicity, originally settled in Teotihuacan as one of several different ethnic groups living in this city. Since the Toltecs were considered to be undesirable outsiders, however, they were forced to leave Teotihuacan and reestablish themselves in Tula in the year 496. By 1000 C.E., the Toltecs had become the dominant tribe in that region. They controlled the central valley of Mexico until the destruction of their capital city toward the middle of the twelfth century. Additional waves of Nahua migration came after the fall of the Toltecs. The Xochimilca, the Tepanecs and the Acolhua, for example, settled around Lake Texcoco. The Culhua Mexica, also known simply as the Mexica, were one of the last Nahua tribes to settle in this lake area. They arrived toward the beginning of the thirteenth century. Often incorrectly referred to as the Aztecs, a term derived from their mythical place of origin known as Aztlan, the Mexica originally worked as serfs for the landowners around the area of Colhuacan. They would spend some three hundred years transforming themselves from serfs into the rulers of a vast empire they controlled from their *altepetl*, or city-state, called Tenochtitlan. In 1428, the Mexica would join forces with the Tepanec and Acolhua peoples to form the Triple Alliance that ruled what is now known as the Aztec Empire until the year 1521 when they were defeated by the Spanish conquistadors and their Indian allies under the leadership of Hernán Cortés. At that time their vast territory comprised what is now known as the Valley of Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua and even parts of Panama. Cortés founded the City of Mexico over the ruins of the Mexica capital that same year. The first group of Franciscans would arrive a mere three years later.

It is important to remember that the Franciscans lived in a society that believed that the devil had already stolen the souls of the people of England, Ger-

many and France, Asia and Palestine, from the one true and apostolic Church.[2] According to Franciscan millennialism, the Franciscan friars were spiritual agents who were working to hasten the second coming of Christ and the desired apocalypse of the world. Conversion was an essential prerequisite to the second coming as the Franciscan interpretation of the "Parable of the Great Feast" (Luke 14: 16–24), quoted below, attests:

> 15 One of his fellow guests on hearing this said to him, "Blessed is the one who will dine in the kingdom of God." 16 He replied to him, "A man gave a great dinner to which he invited many. 17 When the time for the dinner came, he dispatched his servant to say to those invited, 'Come, everything is now ready.' 18 But one by one, they all began to excuse themselves. They first said to him, 'I have purchased a field and must go examine it; I ask you, consider me excused.' 19 And another said, 'I have purchased five yoke of oxen and am on my way to evaluate them; I ask you, consider me excused.' 20 And another said, 'I have just married a woman, and therefore I cannot come.' 21 The servant went and reported this to his master. Then the master of the house in a rage commanded his servant, 'Go out quickly into the streets and alleys of the town and bring in here the poor and the crippled, the blind and the lame.' 22 The servant reported, 'Sir, your orders have been carried out and still there is room.' 23 The master then ordered the servant, 'Go out to the highways and hedgerows and make people come in that my home may be filled 24 for, I tell you, none of those men who were invited will taste my dinner.'"[3]

In this parable, the Franciscans believed that Christ is really inviting people to come to his "spiritual table" to be in Holy Communion with him. According to their line of thinking, the invited guests were the non-Christians of the world. The Nahua Indians were considered to be one of the groups of pagans who only needed to be exposed to the word of God to ensure their conversion to Catholicism and thereby usher in the second coming of Christ. The devil had purposely kept the word of God from the Indians by hiding them in the New World so that Christ would not return.

Spurned on, then, by their euphoric millenarian thinking and their desire to establish an exemplary Christian community, the Franciscan Twelve baptized the Indians by the thousands throughout the Valley of Mexico and the Valley of Puebla convinced that their rapid acceptance of the Christian message was a sure sign that Satan would be defeated and that the second coming of Christ was

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2 Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex* 14, I (see note 1), 50.
3 The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, *New American Bible* (Iowa Falls: World Bible Publishers, 1970).

at hand. The friars did not come to New Spain to condemn the Nahuas[4] to the eternal fires of hell. They came to open the door to forgiveness and salvation. And indeed, the first book published in the New World by Europeans was, unsurprisingly enough, a catechism in Nahuatl that came out as soon as the first printing press arrived in New Spain in 1539. However, much to the friars' dismay, conversion efforts in New Spain soon began to go terribly wrong. So wrong, in fact, that by the early 1530s the first archbishop of Mexico, also a Franciscan, Fray Juan de Zumárraga, made the decision to implement inquisitorial practices against the idolatrous Nahuas. As Fernando Cervantes explains in his work *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain:*

> After all, the Indians were no longer innocent pagans awaiting Christian enlightenment, but proper Christians, baptized and allegedly instructed, and therefore subject to the same disciplinary treatment that was used in Europe against the sins of idolatry, heresy and apostasy.[5]

The first years of contact between the Spaniards and the Indians, then, were years of cultural transmission, assimilation, adaptation, and imposition. As a result, the Nahuas were soon to become Catholic in their public practice while idolatrous behind closed doors.[6] The first friars insisted that their new liturgical practices had easily replaced indigenous idolatrous rituals, but it was discovered that in many cases the Indians were only paying lip service to escape the friars' wrath. As Cervantes points out:

> Indian healing rites soon came to be accompanied by Christian prayers and invocations, and hallucinogens like peyote and *ololiuhqui* are known to have been associated with Christ, the angels, Mary, the Child Jesus, the Trinity, St. Nicholas and St. Peter.[7]

In Sahagún's mind, the natives' superficial participation in the Catholic faith was nothing more than an "embuste" or trick. Superstitions arose and chaos ensued as we can see in the difficulties the friars had in getting the Indians to reject the practice of plural marriage:

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4 Oscar Fernando López Meraz, *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún en el espejo. El occidental y medieval y el discurso sobre el otro* (Saarbrücken, Germany: Editorial Académica Española and LAP LAMBERT Publishing, 2011), 207.
5 Fernando Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 25.
6 López Meraz, *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún en el espejo* (see note 4), 87–88.
7 Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World* (see note 5), 60.

Fueron grãdes los trabajos, y perplexidades que tuujmos a los principios, para casar a los baptizados; y que tenjã muchas mugeres, para darles aquellas, que el derecho manda que tomen, porque para examjnar los parentescos, y saber qual fue la primera, para darsela: nos vimos en vn laberinto de gran difficultad, porque ellos mentian en dezir qual fuesse la primera, y hazian embustes para casarse con aquellas que ellos tenjan mas affection y para saber con qual avian hecho la cerimonja, que vsauã quando tomavan muger legitima: fue necesario reboluer, y saber muchas cerimonjas, y ritus idolatricos de su infidelidad, y como sabiamos poca lengua, casi nunca bien caymos en la cuenta, como agora lo auemos entendido.

[Great were the labors and perplexities we had in the beginning in marrying those who were baptized and had so many women, so as to give them those whom the law requires them to take; for in investigating the relationships and knowing which was the first, in order to give her to him, we found ourselves in a labyrinth of great difficulty, for they lied in saying which was the first, and they committed fraud in order to marry those for whom they had greater affection. And, to know with whom they had performed the ceremony which they practiced when they took a legitimate wife, it was necessary to review and understand many idolatrous ceremonies and rituals of the time of their unbelief. And as we know little of the language, hardly ever did we gain the insight as we have now learned it.][8]

The Franciscan friars' job, then, was to make the Indians see that they had been deceived. It was glaringly apparent to them that Satan, the *Simia Dei* of Saint Bonaventure, had set up his own counter-church in the New World. After all, he was clever enough to have hidden his lands from earlier European maps.[9] It was obvious to the friars that the Nahuas were faking their Catholic faith and the devil was making them do it.

Fray Bernardino de Sahagún was a mere thirty years old when he arrived in New Spain in 1529.[10] He would spend the rest of his life, until 1590, in his evangelistic pursuits. According to Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, a contemporary who

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8 "Author's Account Worthy of Being Noted," Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, 14, X (see note 1), 79.

9 López Meraz, *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún en el espejo* (see note 4), 105.

10 There are several works that deal with the biography of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. Recommended volumes include Miguel León-Portilla's work entitled *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, pionero de la antropología*. (Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1999) which is available in a translation by Mauricio J. Mixco entitled *Bernardino de Sahagún, First Anthropologist* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002); Joaquín García Icazbalceta's study, *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI*, ed. Agustín Millares Carlo (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1954); the biography written by Nicolau d'Olwer entitled *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún*, trans. Mauricio J. Mixco (1952; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987); and of course, Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta's *Historia eclesiástica indiana (1547–96)*, ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1971).

wrote the first known biography of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún,[11] Sahagún had learned the Nahuatl language very quickly. He soon gained the reputation, along with Fray Alonso de Medina, of being one of the best *nahuatlatos*, or interpreters, in New Spain. Sahagún composed and compiled several texts in Nahuatl that include a variety of sermons; a collection of native *huehuetlatolli*, or "words of the elders"; several early drafts and revisions of what would eventually become his *General History*; a Nahua version of the Spanish Conquest, which would later serve as chapter XII of the *General History*; and his *Psalmodia christiana*; among other similar documents.[12] Such was Sahagún's facility with the Nahuatl language that he even served as an interpreter for the Inquisition.[13]

Sahagún felt that the only way to abolish indigenous idolatry was to learn the language and ways of the people he was trying to convert. For that reason he describes the purpose behind his *General History* as follows:

> Es esta obra como vna red barredera para sacar a luz todos los vocablos desta lengua con sus propias y methaphoricas significaçiones, y todas sus maneras de hablar, y las mas de sus antiguallas buenas y malas ....
>
> [This work is like a dragnet to bring to light all the words of this indigenous language with their exact and metaphorical meanings, and all their ways of speaking, and most of their ancient practices, the good and evil.)][14]

As Pilar Máynez Vidal reminds us, it was a sign of the times that Sahagún was interested in collecting and preserving this information for he was writing during the time when several world languages, including the indigenous ones, were being accorded the same value that Latin had had for centuries.[15] And indeed, Sahagún was educated at the University of Salamanca where he was exposed

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11 Please see Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana* (see note 10).

12 The *Psalmodio christiana* (1593) is the only one of Sahagún's works to be published during his lifetime. The *General History of the Things of New Spain* would have to wait until 1829–1830 before it came out in print.

13 Sahagún served as an interpreter during the trial of Carlos Ometochtzin, Lord of Texcoco and grandson of Nezahualcoyotl, in 1539. Ometochtzin was accused of continuing to practice his idolatrous Nahua beliefs. See Pilar Máynez, *El calepino de Sahagún: Un acercamiento* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México ENEP-ACATLAN and Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2002), xix–xx.

14 Anderson and Dibble, "Prologue to Book I," *Florentine Codex* 14 (see note 1), 47.

15 Pilar Máynez Vidal, "El trabajo doctrinal y lingüístico de fray Bernardino de Sahagún," *Diferentes perspectivas de la obra de fray Bernardino de Sahagún*, ed. Lina Zythella Ortega Ojeda (Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de México, 2008), xxii–xxiii. For a closer look at the *General History* as a lexicographic work, see the previously mentioned study by Máynez Vidal, *El calepino de Sahagún* (see note 14).

to humanist classicism. Once in New Spain, he taught Latin off and on over the years to the sons of the Nahua elite at the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Santiago de Tlatelolco, which had been founded in 1536. The spiritual and academic successes of the Colegio de Santa Cruz were well known, and in fact, some twenty years after the fall of Tenochtitlan, Sahagún's students were composing heroic verses in Latin.

During his years at the Colegio and beyond, Sahagún would sit down to talk with the Nahua elders, his informants, to make sure he had an exact rendition of Nahua beliefs and practices. He also employed his "trilinguals"—that is, the Christianized Indians who had been his students at the Colegio de Santa Cruz who were versed in Nahuatl, Spanish, and Latin—as transcribers of the information to ensure the genuineness of the language. To facilitate the gathering of information for his *pagan summa*, Sahagún developed an outline, or questionnaire, called *minuta*, to request specific information about Nahua history, language, customs and religion from his native informants. He is, in fact, one of the first in Western history to do so. Sahagún and his trilinguals worked for decades on this encyclopedic work from the 1540s on. The text, illustrated by Sahagún's *tlacuilos*, or artist-scribes, was to consist of three columns. The first column was to be the Spanish translation of the second column in which the *tlacuilos* recorded the informant information in Nahuatl by using the Latin alphabet. The third column, an explanation of certain Nahuatl words and phrases, also included additional commentary by Sahagún on what was being discussed by the Nahua informants along with his own insights, both positive and negative, into Nahua culture. As Tzvetan Todorov relates in his study *The Conquest of Mexico*, "The result is a work of great structural complexity, in which three mediums continually interweave – Nahuatl, Spanish, and drawings."[16] Although in the process Sahagún imposed "a European organization on American knowledge,"[17] *The General History of the Things of New Spain* is still considered to be one of the main sources we have on Nahua-Christian culture during the time of the colonial era due to the enormous scope of Sahagún's endeavor.[18] As Louise Burkhart notes in her work *Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-*

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16 Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of Mexico*, trans. Richard Howard (1984; New York: Harper & Row, 1992), 233.

17 Todorov, *The Conquest of Mexico* (see note 16), 233.

18 Sahagún actually began work on the earliest part of the *General History*, which is known as the "Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy and Theology of the Mexican People," in 1547. It would not be until 1588 that Fray Francisco Toral, his prelate, would charge him with writing a history of the indigenous people of New Spain.

Century Mexico, Sahagún's *General History* is a unique representation of this moment in time:

> This [Nahua-Christian] dialogue owes its existence to an odd mix of medieval theology, which insisted that all human souls were equal, Renaissance humanism, which suggested that something of worth might be found in another way of life, and Catholic intolerance, which justified—or excused—the study of pagan things on the grounds of facilitating their eradication.[19]

Sahagún felt the friars needed to know the size of the monster they were up against. His stance was in direct opposition to that of friars like Fray Toribio de Benavente (1482–1568), also known as Motolinía, and Fray Bartolomé de las Casas (1485–1566). When Motolinía's manuscript, *La historia de los indios de la Nueva España* (*The History of the Indians of New Spain*), was sent to Spain in 1542, he declared triumphantly:

> Por manera que a mi juicio y verdaderamente, serán bautizados en este tiempo que digo, que serán 15 años, más de nueve millones[20]

> [In my judgment and truly there will have been baptized during this time that I am speaking of, which will be fifteen years, more than nine million souls of the Indians.)][21]

Motolinía sincerely believed that due to the baptism of so many Indians, nothing of idolatry remained in New Spain. The doctrine of Christ had arrived. For his part, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, a Dominican, did not overly concern himself with Nahua idolatry. Instead, he followed the more naturalistic path laid out by St. Thomas Aquinas because Las Casas believed that all the Indians needed for their salvation was "doctrine and grace."[22] This type of ingenuous attitude was precisely what Fray Bernardino de Sahagún feared:

> El medico no puede Acatadamente aplicar Las medicinas al enfermo sin que primero conozca: de que humor, o de que causa proçede la enfermedad. De manera que el buen medico conuiene sea docto en el conocimiento de las medeçinas y en el de las enfermedades para aplicar conueniblemente a cada enfermedad la mediçina contraria. Los predicadores, y confesores, medicos son de las animas para curar las enfermedades espirituales: conuiene

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19 Louse Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in the Sixteenth*-Century (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 3.

20 Fray Toribio de Benavente (Motolinía), *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España* (Mexico: Editorial Salvador Chávez-Hayhoe, 1941), 121.

21 Miguel León Portilla, *Endangered Cultures*, trans. Julie Goodson-Lawes (1976; Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1990), 58.

22 For more information on Thomist naturalism and the role it played in Fray Bartolomé de las Casas's writings, see Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World* (see note 5), 31–33.

tengã esperitia de las mediçinas y de las enfermedades espirituales. El Predicador de los Viçios de la Republica para endereçar contra ellos su doctrina, y el confessor para sauer preguntar lo que conuiene y entender lo que dixeren tocanto a su officio: conuje mucho que sepan lo neçessario para exerçitar sus officios. *Ni conuiene se descuyden los ministros desta conuersion con dezir que entre esta gente no ay mas peccados, de borrachera, hurto y carnalidad.* Porque otros muchos peccados ay entre ellos muy mas graues y que tienen gran necessidad de Remedio. Los peccados de la ydolatria, y ritos ydolatricos, y suprestiçiones ydolatricas: no son aun perdidas del todo.

[The physician cannot advisedly administer medicines to the patient without first knowing of which humour or from which source the ailment derives. Wherefore it is desirable that the good physician be expert in the knowledge of medicines and ailments to adequately administer the cure for each ailment. The preachers and confessors are physicians of the souls for the curing of spiritual ailments. It is good that they have practical knowledge of the medicines and the spiritual ailments. For him who preaches against the evils of the State, in order to marshal his teachings against them, and for the confessor, in order to know how to ask what is proper and understand what they may say pertaining to his work, it is very advisable to know what is necessary to practice their works. *Nor is it fitting that the ministers become neglectful of this conversion by saying there are no sins among this people other than orgies, thievery, and lustfulness,* because there are many other, much graver sins among them which are in great need of remedy. The sins of idolatry, idolatrous rituals, idolatrous superstitions, auguries, abuses, and idolatrous ceremonies are not yet completely lost.][23]

The more familiar Sahagún and the other Franciscan friars became familiar with the Indians, the more that monster took on the dimensions of Satan. After all, the Indians easily identified the Virgin of Guadalupe with the Nahua goddess Tonanztin in a sleight of hand that was thought to be proof positive of satanic intervention. Sahagún argues in his *Arte adivinatoria* in 1585 that his predecessors, the first twelve Franciscan missionaries, were naive to think that they had converted the Indians in such a short amount of time. The Nahuas were very adept at hiding what was considered by the friars to be their idolatry, even to the extent of incorporating hidden feast days in their *tonalpohualli*, or divinatory calendar.[24] In his *General History*, Sahagún laments how this highly regarded art of soothsaying was nothing more than diabolical fraud:

Porque el arte de la astrologia judiciaria, que entre nosotros se vsa, tiene fundamento en la astrologia natural, que es en los signos, y planetas del cielo, y en los cursus y aspectos dellos. Pero esta arte adiujnatoria siguiese o fundase en vnos caracteres, y numeros, en que njngun hombre fabricasse, nj inventasse esta arte; porque no tiene fundamento, en njngu-

23 Anderson and Dibble, "Prologue to Book I," *Florentine Codex* 14 (see note 1), 45. The italics are mine.

24 García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía mexicana* (see note 10), 383.

na sciencia, nj en njnguna razon natural: mas parece cosa de embuste y embaimjento, que no cosa razonal, nj artificiosa.

[For the art of judiciary astrology, common among us, is founded upon natural astrology, which is in the signs and planets of the heavens and in their courses and aspects. But this art of soothsaying followeth, or is founded upon, some characters and numbers in which no natural foundation existeth, but [are] only an artifice made by the devil himself. Nor is it possible that any man could have made or invented this art.][25]

In short, Sahagún felt the friars had been duped. It was time to "out" the deceitful Indians. Therefore, he began to catalogue systematically all aspects of Nahua life to make sure that the Nahua demonic jig was up:

Para predicar contra estas cosas y aun para sauer si las ay: menester es, de saber como las vsauã en tiempo de su ydolatria: que por falta, de no saber esto en nra presencia hazen muchas cosas ydolatricas: sin que lo entendamos. Y dizen algunos escusandolos: que son bouerias o niñerias por ygnorar la Raiz de donde salen: (que es mera ydolatria.) Y los confesores ni se las preguntan ni piensan que ay tal cossa: ni sauen lenguaje para se lo preguntar ni aun lo entenderan aunque se lo digan …

[To preach against these matters, and even to know if they exist, it is needful to know how they practiced them in the times of their idolatry, for, through [our] lack of knowledge of this, they perform many idolatrous things in our presence without our understanding it. And, making excuses for them, some say they are foolishness or childishness, not knowing the source from whence they spring (which is pure idolatry). And the confessors neither ask about them, nor think that such a thing exists, nor understand the language to inquire about it, nor would even understand them, even though they told them of it.][26]

Not everyone was in agreement with Sahagún's efforts, however, and in 1570, on the order of his Provincial, Fray Alonso de Escalona, Sahagún's writings were confiscated and dispersed among the Franciscan monasteries in New Spain for closer examination. After a lapse of five years, Sahagún would finally get permission to gather them up and begin work on them again. Things did not fare much better for him in Spain, and Gerónimo de Mendieta laments,

Tuvo tan poca dicha este bendito Padre en el trabajo de sus escritos, que estos once libros que digo, se los sacó con cautela un Gobernador de esta tierra y los envió á España á un cronista que pedia papeles de Indias, las cuales allá servirán de papeles para especias.[27]

[He had such little luck, this blessed father, in the work of his writings, that these eleven books that I speak of were cautiously removed by a governor of the land and sent to

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25 Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex* 14, IV (see note 1), 145.

26 Anderson and Dibble, "Prologue to Book I," *Florentine Codex* 14 (see note 1), 45 – 46.

27 Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica* (see note 10), 663.

Spain to a chronicler who requested papers on the Indies, but which will be used there to wrap up spices.][28]

Mendieta was referring to the warrant issued by Philip II on April 22, 1577 that ordered the viceroy of New Spain, Martín Enríquez, to confiscate Sahagún's work on the grounds that it could be dangerous[29]:

> ... os mandamos que luego que recibais esta nuestra cédula, con mucho cuidado y diligencia procureis haver estos libros, sin que dellos quede original ni traslado alguno, los envieis á buen recaudo en la primera ocasión á nuestro Consejo de las Indias, para que en él se vean; y estareis advertido de no consentir que por ninguna manera persona alguna escriba cosas que toquen a supresticiones y manera de vivir que estos indios tenian, en ninguna lengua, porque así conviene al servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y nuestro ...[30]

> [We order that, as soon as you receive this, Our *cédula*, with great care and diligence you take measures to get these books without there remaining the originals or copies of them, and to send them well guarded at the first opportunity to Our Council of the Indies, that they may there be examined. And you will be advised not to permit anyone, for any reason, in any language, to write concerning the superstitions and way of life these Indians had. Thus it is best for God our Lord's service and for our own.][31]

In spite of the king's orders, Sahagún, fortuitously, would only send a portion of his writings to Spain while prudently holding onto the rest.

The Satan that occupied the friars' minds and hearts at this time was a European construct; the cousin, if you will, of the medieval devil of hagiographies and exempla, and Sahagún's reaction was a natural one given the fact that the West tended to demonize the non-Christian other—Jews, Moors, witches, heretics, and Indians. The people of the Middle Ages expected the devil to appear at their doorstep, ready to tempt them or seduce them so as to gather more tortured followers in the raging fires of hell.[32] This attitude is not surprising given the fact

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28 Translation by Walden Browne, *Sahagún and the Transition to Modernity* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 37.

29 See Browne, *Sahagún and the Transition to Modernity* (see note 27), 26.

30 *Códice Franciscano: Siglo XVI; informe de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio al visitador Lic. Juan de Ovando; informe de la Provincia de Guadalajara al mismo; cartas de religiosos, 1533–1569*, ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México. Sección de historia, 4 (1889; Mexico: Editorial Chávez Hayhoe, 1941), 249–50.

31 This excerpt from the *Códice Franciscano*, which was translated by Arthur J.O. Anderson, appears in "Sahagún: Career and Character," found in "Introductions and Indices," *Florentine Codex* 14.I (see note 1), 37, n. 47.

32 López Meraz, *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún en el espejo* (see note 4), 201.

that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, demons and monsters were all the rage. Cervantes explains that

> From the writings of Pliny, Mela, Solinus, Isidore, Vincent of Beauvais and Mandeville, among many others, Europeans had grown accustomed to expect the unusual and the fantastic to be the norm in remote corners of the world. Pliny's descriptions of garamites, augiles, gamphastes, blemmyae, satyrs, scythians, arimaspi, thibii, and so on, were fittingly complemented by Isidore's giants, pygmies, cyclops, hermaphrodites, and dog-faced men. The repetition of stale descriptions of fabulous peoples became almost compulsive in the late middle ages. Four out of the twelve 'best-sellers' of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries dealt with marvels, and the world of classical monsters upon the European mind made itself felt in poetry and drama as well as in sermons and in the works of science.[33]

These monsters and marvels who traveled to the New World with the Spanish conquerors were to accompany the friars as well.

At this period in time there also existed what could be considered magical practices in Christianity due to the dominant world view that people were "permanently [being] assailed by hostile armies of demons."[34] Remedies to protect against demonic harm such as the sign of the cross, holy candles, herbs, and the incantatory, or invocation of the cross or the names of Christ, were commonplace. Even the *Malleus Maleficarum*[35] recognized such practices as legitimate and sacred when applied by pious religious and lay people.[36]

According to medieval Christian beliefs, the pagan gods were actually demons in disguise, hence Sahagún's drive to unmask these gods in the New World.[37] The *General History* was not only intended to be a compendium of

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33 Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World* (see note 5), 5–6.

34 Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World* (see note 5), 58.

35 The *Malleus Maleficarum* [*The Hammer of Witches*], first published in 1486 by Heinrich Kramer [and Jacob Sprenger], was a guidebook designed to help Inquisitors identify and prosecute witches during the Spanish Inquisition which was first established on November 1, 1468 and finally disbanded on July 15, 1834. *The Hammer of Witches: A Complete Translation of the* Malleus Maleficiarum, by Christopher S. Mackay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

36 Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World* (see note 5), 59.

37 Several studies have been written on the influence of the Greco-Roman tradition in Sahagún's work. His bent toward writing an encyclopedic demonology owes as much to classical traditions as to medieval ones. Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* and Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De Proprietatibus Rerum* are often cited as influences. Sahagún also owes a debt to the manuals designed for the Inquisition, although Sahagún was not writing this type of manual per se. He was more interested in researching the Indian other for conversion purposes, along the lines of Saint Augustine's canonical work, *The City of God*. For additional information on the influence of the encyclopedic tradition on the *General History*, see Ascensión Hernández de León-Portilla, "La his-

the Nahuas' language and religion designed to facilitate conversion efforts, it was also to serve as a type of demonology for the friars in the style of St. Augustine's canonical work, *The City of God*. According to John H. Elliott, the devil had become a "diabolus ex machina" who made sense of the indigenous rites and practices by placing them within the European dichotomy of good and evil.[38]

Unfortunately, Sahagún's efforts to understand the Nahua "demons" lost much in his linguistic and cultural translations. As Georges Baudot points out, many lexical and semantic misunderstandings as well as several cultural mix-ups took place which were disorienting for Spaniards and Indians alike.[39] He contends that the friars, with their limited knowledge of Nahuatl and their even lesser knowledge of the indigenous worldview, would resort to a "desperate" use of Nahuatl vocabulary to identify and convince the Indians of their Christian notions.[40] We can see evidence of this tendency in an excerpt from Sahagún's work *Coloquios y doctrina christiana*, in which he relates the supposed conversation that took place between the original twelve Franciscan friars and the Nahua *tlamatinime*, or priestly sages, in 1524; although Sahagún would wait some forty years before he captured it in writing. In the following description of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, we find that the poetic phrasing and use of metaphor is fashioned after Nahuatl rhetorical devices while the content is definitely biblical. As we can see, the resulting catechism lesson resulted in a type of "Christianity through the looking glass":

> Auh in iquac oqujmmuchiuiti
> ceca qualca, cenca iecca,
> ceca tetlamachtica
> in qujmotlalili y xuchitlatzinco
> yto[c]aioca Parayso terrenal:
> in ipa qujmmotlatocatlalili
> in ixquichtil itlachiualhua.
> in omoteneuhq:
> auh qujmmonauatili in cuel
> qujcuazque
> in nepapan xuchiqualli.

toria de las cosas de la Nueva España a la luz de las enciclopedias de la tradición greco-romana," *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún y su tiempo*, ed. Jesús Paniagua and María Isabel Viforcos (León, Spain: Universidad de León, 2000), 573–87.

38 John H. Elliott. "The Discovery of America and the Discovery of Man," *Spain and Its Worlds 1500–1700* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 42–64.

39 Georges Baudot, *México y los albores del discurso colonial* (Mexico: Editorial Patria, Nueva Imagen, 1996), 225.

40 Baudot, *Albores* (see note 38), 233.

in vmpa muchiua
ce miectlamatli
yoa cenca velic, ceca ahuiac.
Auh ca ce y xuchiqualquavitl
qujmocaualtili.
vel qujmotlaquauhnauatili
inic amo quicuazque
in itlaaquillo in ixuchiquallo.

[And then, having made for them
a very good place, a very upright place,
He set them in His precious flowering place,
a place named earthly paradise.
On it he established them as speakers
of all His creations,
these that were mentioned.
And he ordered them briefly:
they will eat it,
the various edible flowers
growing there,
indeed, the many things, and very savory, very pleasing.
But, verily, one tree of edible flowers
He prohibited it to them,
He rigorously ordered them
so that they will not eat it,
its fruit, its edible flower.][41]

This reference to the tree with edible flowers is an example of where the lines between Nahua and Christian thought tend to blur. The friars were not only referring to the tree in the Garden of Eden. They were also referring to the tree that stood in the middle of the heaven known as Tamoanchan called *xochincuahuitl*, or flowered tree. The *xochincuahuitl* inspired poetic creation. The birds who sipped the nectar from its flowers were the true creators of the Nahuas' *cuicatl*, or songs. Such was the belief of the Nahua *cuicacani*, or poet-singers, in the creative power of this flowery paradise, they used to create an environment on earth that would mirror Tamoanchan.[42] It was in these parks and along these pathways where they would compose their songs. Since the *cuicatl* were considered to

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41 Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *The Aztec-Spanish Dialogues of 1524*, trans. J. Jorge Klor de Alva, *Alcheringa/Ethnopoetics* IV.2 (1980): 173–75.

42 Brigitte Leander, *In xochitl in cuicatl: Flor y canto. La poesía de los aztecas*, 2nd ed. (1972; Mexico: Instituto Nacional Indigenista and Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1981), 41–45; and Kimberly A. Eherenman, "Flor y canto: Poesía y poética náhuatl," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Irvine, 1987, 53–54.

be equal to human sacrifice in their ability to appease the gods, the friars, perhaps even unwittingly, relied on the significance Tamoanchan held for the Nahuas to emphasize the importance of their biblical message.

Along the same lines, since the readers of Sahagún's *General History* were to be other mendicant friars, he himself made the rather faulty, but certainly logical, decision to compare the Nahua gods to the Roman gods of antiquity since the gods of both pantheons were, of course, of pagan origin. For example, Huizilopochtli, the supreme deity of the particular group of Nahuas known as the Mexica, is Hercules[43]; Chicomecoatl, the goddess of food and produce, is Ceres[44]; Chalchiuhtlicue, the goddess of lakes and waterways, is Juno;[45] Tlazolteotl, the goddess who caused and purified diseases caused by sexual misdeeds or excess, is Venus[46]; while Tezcatlipoca, the Smoking Mirror who was the god of rulers, sorcerers, and warriors, is Jupiter.[47] Sahagún criticizes the Greek and Roman forefathers for their obvious oversight:

> Cuán desatinados habían sido en el conocimiento de las criaturas los gentiles nuestros antepasados, así griegos como latinos, está muy claro por sus mismas escrituras, de las cuales nos consta cuán ridículas fábulas inventaron del sol y de la luna, y de algunas de las estrellas, y del agua, fuego, tierra y aire y de las otras criaturas; y lo que peor es (que) les atribuyeron la divinidad, y adoraron y ofrecieron, sacrificaron y acataron como a dioses. Esto provino en parte por la ceguedad en que caímos por el pecado original, y en parte por la malicia, y envejecido odio de nuestro adversario Satanás que siempre procura de abatirnos a cosas viles, y ridículas, y muy culpables.[48]

> [How foolish our forefathers, the gentiles, both Greek and Latin, had been in the understanding of created things is very clear from their own writings. From them it is evident to us what ridiculous fables they invented of the sun, the moon, some of the stars, water, land, fire, air, and of the other created things. And, what is worse, they attributed divinity to them, and they worshipped them, made offerings, made sacrifices to them, and revered them as gods ... So if this happened, as we know, among people of so much

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43 Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*, ed. Angel María Garibay K., 8th ed. (1956; Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1992), 31. Please note that there are differences in the textual content between the English translation of the *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* done by Anderson and Dibble, and Garibay's edition in which he published the Spanish content of the *Historia general*. The references to the pagan gods do not appear in the English translation of *Book I: The Gods*.

44 Garibay, *Historia general* (see note 42), 33.

45 Garibay, *Historia general* (see note 42), 35.

46 Garibay, *Historia general* (see note 42), 36.

47 Garibay, *Historia general* (see note 42), 31.

48 Sahagún, *Historia general* (see note 42), 429.

discretion and presumption, there is no reason for one to marvel that similar things are found among these people, so innocent and so easily deceived.][49]

This comparison was anything but gratuitous. As Walden Browne points out in his study *Sahagún and the Transition to Modernity,* "By identifying the Nahua gods with the gods of antiquity, Sahagún lends more credibility to the notion that the indigenous gods are actual demons capable both of demanding perverse honors and of possessing individuals."[50]

In addition to this mismatch between gods, we also find several linguistic and cultural "slips" in the *General History* as Sahagún tries to effectively translate words such as "guilt" into Nahuatl, a difficult task when the European Christian world was defined in terms of "good" and "evil," with the moral implications those values imply, while the Nahua world was defined in terms of "order" and "chaos" without any moral implications. Sahagún found himself duly perplexed at the lack of words like "saint" in the native tongue. His scribes would end up simply using the word "santo," the Spanish word for "saint," in the appropriate places in the Nahuatl text. Due to the fact that Sahagún held on stubbornly to the medieval belief that all meaningful words or statements refer back to what was known as *significatio*, that is, the divinely assigned essence or form (*essentia*, *forma*) at the root of every meaning of a word, no matter which language expresses it, he simply could not fathom why there was not a direct correspondence between words for Christian religious concepts and those of the Nahuas. As Browne explains:

> If one keeps this legacy of metalinguistic universals in mind, it is easy to see why Sahagún should find the flagrant lack of correspondence between the Nahua and European concepts so disconcerting. The discovery that the Nahuas were not at all talking about the same thing when using superficially similar ideas threw a wrench into the medieval Euro-Christian system of unified meaning. Much of the semantic level of Nahuatl proved menacing—and even demonic—to Sahagún, since it clashed with his inherited views on the ultimate unity of all semantic content. Faced with this dilemma, Sahagún had three (hypothetical) choices: (1) do nothing, (2) accept that linguistic meaning is often contextually and arbitrarily determined, and hence not a derivation of God, or (3) prove that Nahuatl and European languages share a semantic substratum. Sahagún chose the third option.[51]

The end result would be that the friars had a "devil of a time" getting the Nahuas to understand, no less practice, Christian values given this lack of *significatio*.

49 Anderson and Dibble, "Prologue to Book VII," *Florentine Codex* 14 (see note 1), 67.

50 Browne, *Sahagún and the Transition to Modernity* (see note 27), 196.

51 Browne, *Sahagún and the Transition to Modernity* (see note 27), 124.

For example, since the Nahuas had no word for "sin," or *peccatum*, as defined by the Christians, the best the friars could do was to translate it as *tlatlacolli*. But *tlatlacolli* is dervived from the transitive verb *itlacoa* which means "to damage, spoil or harm." Burkhart points out that *tlatlacolli* had a wide range of meanings since any sort of error or misdeed could be labeled as *tlatlacolli*, including a "weaver who tangled her weaving, a feather worker who ruined feathers, a warrior who erred in battle, a singer who failed to harmonize, a mouse gnawing garments, hail harming crops ... ."[52] Along these same lines, *mea culpa* would become *notlatlacol*, which literally means "my damage." As we can see, the term *tlatlacolli* is not exactly a precise conceptual fit. The Indians did believe that a man or woman who was "dirty," that is, in a state of pollution or contamination, would be the one to cause damage to the people around them. This could result in *tlazomiquiztli*, that is, their own "filth-death."[53] *Tlazolli*, meaning "filth" or "contamination," is something you pick up from someone or something. As such, it can affect your behavior. Babies, for example, would pick up *tlazolli* from their mother at birth. Harm may be involved and disorder may occur, but these results were not voluntary. Inga Clendinnen in *Aztecs: An Interpretation* clarifies that sin was not understood by the Nahuas as a moral transgression, but rather as a physical or metaphysical impurity that was brought about by not following societal rules. In order to realign with the sacred, you simply needed to follow the appropriate observances to be purified and rid yourself of the *tlazolli* you had picked up.[54] For that reason, the Nahuas insisted on scrupulous cleanliness since cleanliness was the best protection against the danger of filth and disordered or decaying things. Sweeping, for example, went on daily in Nahua homes. Once finished, the sweepers made sure the *tlazolli*-laden brooms were kept outside. However, the friars were not overly concerned about this conceptual gap. In their minds:

> If the Nahuas had a concept of sin, it meant that their ideology contained at least this element of God-given truth, even if in its details it differed somewhat from the corresponding Christian concept. The friars could use the native term in their teaching without being overly concerned about how well it meshed with their own concept. Such an approach facilitated dialogue, for it permitted the friars to adopt the native categories while satisfying themselves that orthodoxy was being adequately upheld.[55]

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52 I am deeply indebted to Louise Burkhart for this section on Nahua-Christian terminology, see her *The Slippery Earth* (see note 18), 28–29.

53 Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, Canto Edition, 1995), 52.

54 Clendinnen, *Aztecs* (see note 52); 164.

55 Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth* (see note 18), 26–27.

To complicate matters even more, the friars decided to employ the Nahuatl word *teotl* to the Christian god. They also used it to express the concept of "holy." But the Nahuas not only applied *teotl* to their gods, they also used it to refer to anything they considered out of the ordinary. In the words of Sahagún,

> ... de manera que al sol, le llamauan Teutl: por su lindeza: al mar, tãbiẽ por su grandeza, i ferocidad: i tambien a muchos de los anjmales los llamauã por este nombre: por razõ de su espantable disposition, i braueza. Donde se infiere, que este nombre teutl, se toma, en buena, i en mala parte.

> [So, they called the sun *teotl*, because of its beauty; likewise the ocean because of its grandeur, its fury; and also they called many of the animals by this name because of their frightening aspect and ferocity. From this it is inferred that this name, *teotl*, is taken as good and evil.][56]

Again, it is apparent that the meaning of the word *teotl* had fallen through the cultural translation cracks. Burkhart emphasizes that Nahua religious beliefs were monist, unlike the Christian dualistic ones.[57] The Nahua gods were creative and destructive, benevolent and malignant, all at the same time. They were not considered to be wholly "good" or utterly "bad." Cervantes sums up this notion by saying:

> Consequently, the European notions of good and evil, personified in the concepts of god and devil, implied a degree of benevolence and malevolence that was totally alien to the Mesoamerican deities. The notion of a totally good god was an absurdity in Mesoamerican thought. Such a being would have lacked the essential power to disrupt in order to create. Likewise, an evil devil would have lacked the power to create that would enable it to disrupt. Moreover, a god who threatened to take his place not just as a further god in the native pantheon, but as the only god, to the exclusion of all others, was an explosive liability which put the whole cosmic order in extreme peril.[58]

Burkhart goes on to observe that "In the Nahua universe, how to align oneself with good and to avoid evil was not the basic problem of human existence. Rather, one had to discover the proper balance between order and chaos"[59] in order to stay in the sacred center and not slip off life's path and end up in the chaotic

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56 Anderson and Dibble, "Prologue to Book XI," *Florentine Codex* 14 (see note 1), 87.
57 Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth* (see note 18), 33 – 38.
58 Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World* (see note 5), 43.
59 Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth* (see note 18), 37 – 38.

periphery.[60] The bad was as necessary as the good. Disharmony was as vital as harmony. Decaying things were as indispensable as growing ones. The synergy between these opposing, yet dynamically interrelated forces, was the stuff of life, because, after all, life comes from chaos.[61] In fact, the terms used to express good and bad, right and wrong, are more concrete in Nahuatl. "Good," for example, was often translated as *cualli*, a word that was derived from the passive form of the verb *cua* which meant "to eat." *Yectli* was also sometimes used since it meant "finished or completed," a positive quality in a world where things in a state of incompleteness or decay were dangerous. However, as Burkhart cautions,

> ... these terms, and their more abstract derivatives *cualiztli* and *yectiliztli* "goodness" or *acualiztli* and *ayectiliztli* "badness", were not universal evaluative categories into which all phenomena could be placed. The problem was that the friars treated them as if they were.[62]

Wickedness and perversion could be translated as *tlahuelilocaoytl*. The root of *tlahuelilocaoytl*, *tlahuelli*, meant "anger," but more in the sense of a frenzy or disorderly state of being.[63] It did not mean "badness" in the way the friars proposed. The friars insisted on using the Nahua order-disorder dialectic for the Christian opposites of good and evil because it was the only way they could translate their worldview for their Nahua audience. The effect, however, was a "Nahuatlization" of Christian terminology. As in the child's game of telephone, the message would be received, but in a somewhat garbled way.

The idea of heaven and hell was another conceptual challenge. The Nahuas' cosmos consisted of thirteen levels of an upper world and nine levels of an underworld with the earth sandwiched in between. Your fate after death was not tied to your actions here on earth, but rather, to the manner in which you

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60 James Maffie, in his article, "*In Huehue Tlamanitiliztli* and *la Verdad:* Nahua and European Philosophies in Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Colloquios y doctrina cristiana*," *Inter-American Journal of Philosophy* 3.1 (2012): 1–20; delineates the slippery life-path the Nahuas were on:

> Nahua philosophy begins with the observation that humans are always already navigating their way along a jagged mountain peak, and always already losing their balance, slipping, and consequently suffering pain, sorrow, hunger, disease, and death. The Nahuas conceive the earth as a perilous place. Its name, *tlalticpac*, means "on the point or summit of the earth," suggesting a narrow, harpoon-sharp place surrounded by constant dangers.

61 Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World* (see note 5), 41.

62 Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth* (see note 18), 39.

63 Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth* (see note 18), 38–39.

died. If you did not die violently, you would automatically go to Mictlan, a place the friars would equate with the Christian hell in spite of the fact that it held no "hellish" fate for the Nahuas. The heaven of the rain god Tlaloc was Tlalocan, but to get to Tlalocan you did not have to have led a virtuous life. You simply had to have drowned. The friars decided to pick Tamoanchan, the mythological place of origin for the Nahuas, as the equivalent of the Christian heaven. However, Tamoanchan was presided over by the goddess Itzapapalotl, the Obsidian Butterfly, who was not only the mother of the gods, she was also known to be one of the principal *tzitzimime*, or star demons.

The friars were pleased to find that the Nahuas did "confess" at least once in their lifetime, although they were perplexed when the Nahuas presented themselves for the Catholic sacrament of confession without any sign of remorse. The Nahuas' religious rite was called *neyolmelahualiztli*, which means "the action of straightening out the heart." The Nahuas would first consult the *tonalpouhque*, the priest who read people's destinies by consulting the *tonalpohualli*, the Nahua ritual and astronomical calendar that determined the influences that affected people's lives.[64] Once in his presence, they recited their transgressions in the order in which they had been committed, particularly those of a sexual nature since lust was caused by Tlazoteotl, the goddess of *tlazolli*, or filth.[65] Once the misdeeds had been listed, the diviner would then tell the transgressor the types of penance he needed to undertake to rid himself of this *tlazolli*. Many times this penance involved bloodletting procedures in front of an image of the goddess.

When the penance was completed, Tlazoteotl would proceed to "eat" or "absorb" the *tlazolli*[66] and the penitent was purified. His contrition was not the reason for his once in a lifetime confession. He simply wanted to avoid punishment by the authorities for his societal transgressions. Sahagún writes, "Jnjc moiolmelaoaia veuetque: qujlmach, iehoatl, ynjc amo tzacujltilozque, njcan tlalticpac, yn jntlapilchioal: yntla otetlaxin: ynjc amo quatetlaxiloloz, ynjc amo quatepitzinjloz, ynjc amo quatetzotzonaloz, moiolmelaoa" (Thus the aged confessed—it was said—that they might not be punished here on earth for their sins; if they

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64 For additional information on the *tonalpohualli*, see Miguel Aguilar Moreno, *Handbook to Life in the Aztec World* (Los Angeles: California State University, Los Angeles, and Facts On File, Inc.), 2006.

65 León-Portilla, *Endangered* (see note 20), 147.

66 Burr Cartwright Brundage, *The Fifth Sun. Aztec Gods, Aztec World* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 186–88.

had committed adultery, so that their heads might not be pierced, nor crushed, nor beaten with stones, [therefore] they confessed.[67])

The Nahuas also bathed their babies when they named them in a fashion surprisingly analogous to a Christian baptism. During the naming ceremony, the midwife would assume the role of a priest. Selecting a day that was fortunate according to the ritual calendar, she would ritually bathe the baby in the early morning light while she appealed to the gods to protect the child:[68]

> Niman concuj in atl, in ticitl, conahaiovia: njman conpaloltia in piltzintli, ijelpan qujtlalilia, ioan ijcpac, quinotztinemj in piltontli: qujlvia. Noxocoiouh, notelpuchtzin, anoço qujlvia: nochpuchtzin: ma itech ximaxiti in monan, in mota, in chalchiuhtli icue, in chalchiuhtlatonac: ma mjtzalmanjli: ca iehoatl mjtzitqujz, mjtzmamaz in tlalticpac:

> [Then the midwife took the water; she breathed upon it; then she made the baby taste it; she touched his chest and his head [with the water]. She proceeded addressing the baby; she said to it: "My youngest one, my beloved youth," or she said, "My beloved maiden, approach thy mother, thy father, Chalciuitlicue, Chalchiuhtlatonac! May she take thee, for she will bear thee, she will bear thee upon her back on earth!"][69]

The water removed the *tlazolli* of the infant's forebears and, if born on an unfortunate day, it also removed the filth associated with the child's *tonalli*, or destiny. Gone, too, was the *tlazolli* associated with the parents' act of sexual intercourse that was necessary to create the child.[70]

These approximate parallels between Nahua and Christian religious rites were important to the friars since they came to the conclusion that if the Nahuas had religious rites similar to those of Christian baptism and confession, then it logically followed there were other correspondences between the two faiths as well. So strong was this analogy in the friars' minds that they were convinced that the Nahuas' main god, Tezcatlipoca, simply had to be Lucifer himself:

> Jnjn tezcatlipuca qujtotiaque in veuetque, vel teutl, noujan ynemjan, mictlan, tlalticpac, ilhujcac: in iquac nemja tlalticpac, iaoiutl qujiolitiaia, iehoatl qujiolitiaia in teuhtli, in tlaçolli, cococ, teupouhqui tepan qujchioaia, tetzalan tenepantla, moquetzaia: ipampa y, moteneoa necoc iautl, teca maujltiaia, tequequeloaia: moteneoa ehecatl, tlaioalli. Jnin tlaueliloc tezcatlipuca, ticmati ca iehoatl in lucifer, in vei diablo, in vmpa ilhujcatl itic, vel iancujcan oqujpeoalti, in iaujutl in tecuculiliztli, in teuhtli, in tlaçolli:

67 For more information on the Nahua rite of confession, see Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex* 14, II (see note 1), 27.
68 Aguilar Moreno, *Handbook to Life in the Aztec World* (see note 63), 355.
69 Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex* 14, VI (see note 1), 176.
70 Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth* (see note 18), 113.

[This Tezcatlipoca, the ancients went on to say, was a true god; his abode was everywhere— in the land of the dead, on earth, in heaven. When he walked upon the earth he quickened war; he quickened vice, filth; he brought anguish, affliction to men; he brought discord among men, wherefore he was called "the enemy on both sides." He mocked men, he ridiculed men. He was called the wind, shadow. This wicked Tezcatlipoca, we know, is Lucifer, the great devil who there in the midst of Heaven, even in the beginning, began war, vice, filth.[71]]

Unfortunately, the friars faced a dilemma when they began to identify Lucifer with Tezcatlipoca. The Nahuas, those *gentiles Diablome quimateotitinemi*, that is, "those Gentiles who live for making the demons into deities,"[72] did indeed consider Tezcatlipoca to be a god. The devil could not be as powerful as God. Even though the friars would introduce the terms "diablo" and "demonio" (devil and demon) into their Nahuatl texts, along with the names Lucifer and Satan, they needed to find an appropriate alternative for the demonic element. They searched for a being that did not hold divine status for the Nahuas, as in the case of Tezcatlipoca, but who was malicious all the same. They found such a creature in the figure of the Tlacatecolotl, that is, the "human owl." Fortunately for them, the friars did not have to come up with the term *tlacatecolotl* themselves since it already referred to a particularly malevolent type of *nahualli*, or shape-shifting shaman, who took the form of an animal alter-ego during his trances.[73] The Tlacatecolotl was associated with sorcery and the night. Best of all, he had horns, just like the Christian devil, and he was not a *teotl*, or god. Even though Sahagún was opposed to the use of *tlacatecolotl* for the devil since he felt its definition was more that of "necromancer or witch,"[74] the Nahuas themselves would come to accept the term. As Burkhart points out, "In indigenous writings the native deities are frequently referred to as *tlatlacatecolo* (plural of *tlatlatecolotl*) as well as *diablos* and *demonios*, just as native artists learned to depict them like Christian devils."[75] The Tlacatecolotl was a fortuitous choice.

The friars found other demonic figures among the Nahua beliefs as well. The diabolic could also take the form of the previously mentioned *tzitzimime*. The *tzitzimime*, also known as the *cihuateteo* or *cihuapipiltin*, were *mociuauquetzque*, or women who died in the battle of childbirth and went on to inhabit Cihuatlampa, that is, the "place of the women" that was located at the point where the sun

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71 Anderson and Dibble, "Appendix," *Florentine Codex* 14, I (see note 1), 67 – 68.
72 Klor de Alva, *Dialogues* (see note 40), 62.
73 Please see Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth* (see note 18), 40 – 42.
74 Garibay, *Historia general* (see note 42), 344.
75 Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth* (see note 18), 41.

sets. It was the *tzitzimime* who were responsible for storms, lust and diseases. These star demons of darkness were the most feared supernatural beings in Late Postclassic Central Mexico.

It is thought that they were most likely the personification of falling stars since they dove headfirst from the heavens as if they were fallen angels. They haunted the crossroads at night. They stole children and they caused insanity. These fleshless beings with human hearts around their head and neck came to earth during the Nahua month of Quecholli to terrorize human beings. Solar eclipses were especially feared because it was believed that the *tzitzimime* were attacking the sun. The end of the fifty-two year fire cycle, the Nahua equivalent of the end of a century, was another fearful time. If the New Fire was not created on the Hill of the Star, the *tzitzimime* would descend and destroy the world. Cervantes remarks that Sahagún's *tzitzimime* combined the worst elements of both indigenous deities and Christian devils in such a way that, as Louise Burkhart puts it, "they seem to have stepped right out of a converted Nahua's nightmare."[76]

Was Sahagún's nightmare that the Nahuas were merely "faking Christianity" true? After all, the Indians failed to understand why the friars believed that certain rites, such as human sacrifice, were the work of the devil when they were vital to maintain cosmic order. As James Lockhart points out, "One can hardly speak of an indigenous inclination to disbelief in Christianity."[77] Conquered tribes were expected to add their victor's god to their pantheon and assimilate their beliefs. Lockhart goes on to suggest, "Thus the Nahuas after the Spanish conquest needed less to be converted than to be instructed." Fray Diego Durán, another contemporary of Sahagún, would report that the Indians found themselves to be in a space between religious beliefs. They still had not reconciled the two. In Durán's account of his conversation with one of his own Nahua informants, he writes:

> … y así riñéndole el mal que había hecho, me respondió:
>
> Padre, no te espantes pues todavía estamos *nepantla*. Y como entendiese lo que quería decir por aquel vocablo y metáfora que, quiere decir *estar en medio*, torné a insistir me dijese que medio era aquel en que estaban. Me dijo que, como no están aún bien arraigados en la fe, que no me espantase de manera que aún estaban neutros, que ni bien acudían a la una ley ni a la otra, o por mejor decir que creían en dios y que juntamente acudían a sus

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76 Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth* (see note 18), 42.

77 James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 203.

costumbres antiguas y ritos del demonio. Y esto quiso decir aquél en su abominable excusa de que aún permanecían en medio y estaban neutros.[78]

[Thus reprimanding him for the evil thing he had done, he answered me:

Father, do not be frightened because we are still *nepantla*, and since I understood what he meant to say by that phrase and metaphor, which meant to be in the middle, I insisted that he tell me in what middle it was in which they found themselves. He told me that since they were still not well rooted in the faith, I should not be surprised that they were still neutral, that they neither answered to one faith nor the other or, better said, that they believed in God and at the same time keep their ancient customs and demonic rites. And this is what he meant by his abominable excuse that they still remained in the middle and were neutral.][79]

In sixteenth-century New Spain, sorcery and magic had become, in the words of Georges Baudot, the "daily bread" of the confessional.[80] Friars like Bernardino de Sahagún held that everything labeled as *chicotlamatia*, those things that were "believed erroneously" or "known only halfway,"[81] should be outlawed. Once the friars, the royal authorities, and the Holy Office of the Inquisition started launching campaigns against the Nahua Indians, however, the diabolic tables started to turn. The Nahuas, in their own right, began to see the friars as the personification of their worst nightmare. In 1536, a native of Texcoco named Martín Océlotl was thrown off his land and imprisoned for being a sorcerer. The proceedings from his trial [82] state that Martín had been preaching that the end of the world was at hand at the end of the current fire cycle due to the Nahuas' abandonment of their native beliefs. According to Miguel León-Portilla's summary of what took place during this trial:

Y anunciando igualmente portentos en el cielo, pasaba luego a relacionar la creencia en el posible fin del mundo con la suerte que debían correr entonces los frailes que "se habían de tornar en chichimicle ...," es decir en *tzitzimime*.

Clara alusión era ésta a lo que ocurriría cuando, en la fiesta del fuego nuevo, "... si no se puediese sacar lumbre, que habría fin el linaje humano, y que aquella noche y aquellas

78 Fray Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de la Nueva España e islas de Tierra Firme*, vol. II (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1967), 268.

79 León-Portilla, *Endangered* (see note 20), 71–72.

80 Baudot, *Albores* (see note 38), 225–27.

81 Baudot, *Albores* (see note 38), 227.

82 "Procesos de indios idólatras y hechiceros," *Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación*, 3 (Mexico: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1912): 20; in León-Portilla, *Endangered* (see note 20), 74.

tinieblas serían perpetuas ... y que de arriba vendrían y descenderían los *tzitzimime*, que eran unas figuras feísimas y terribles y que comerían a los hombres y mujeres."[83]

[Announcing portents in the heavens, he [Martín Océlotl] then went on to connect belief in the possible end of the world with the fate the friars would then confront, as "They would be turned into *chichimicle*," that is, *tzitzimime*. This was a clear allusion to what was believed could occur in the feast of the new fire that was coming up when [in Martín's words], "if they could not bring forth fire, the human lineage would end. And that night, and that darkness, would exist forever ... and from above would descend the *tzitzimime*, who were extremely ugly and terrible creatures who would eat all the men and women.][84]

Martín felt the friars, who were hell bent on destroying the ancient beliefs, were nothing more and nothing less than disguised *tzitzimime* who had come to earth to devour all that was good.[85]

So, as we can see, a mere fifteen years after the founding of Mexico City on August 13, 1521, it was not just the friars who saw the Indians as an idolatrous and diabolic people; the Nahuas also saw the friars as the personification of chaos and destruction. For his part, Sahagún never could see that the religious beliefs of the Nahuas made "sense in a manner that had nothing to do with the Christian West or God's divine plan"[86] while Nahuas like Martín Océlotl felt that the missionaries "were hostile to all happiness"[87] in this world because they were so preoccupied with evil and its consequences in the next. Both the friars and the Nahuas were still in *Nepantla*, caught in the diabolic gap between their respective religious beliefs, their linguistic misinterpretations and their cultural misunderstandings. During the Colonial Era in New Spain, this particular "devil in the middle" would continue to confound the details of everyday life.

83 "Procesos de indios," 21; in León-Portilla, *Culturas en peligro* (Mexico: Alianza Editorial Mexicana, 1976), 82–83.

84 "Procesos de indios;" 21; in León-Portilla, *Endangered* (see note 20), 74.

85 "Procesos de indios;" 21; in León-Portilla, Endangered (see note 20), 74.

86 Browne, *Sahagún and the Transition to Modernity* (see note 27), 109.

87 León-Portilla, *Endangered* (see note 20), 74.

Thomas Willard (University of Arizona, Tucson)

Hard Places

Paracelsian Neologisms and Early Modern Guides

I Introduction

The German Reformation was a time of great multilingualism. While Latin remained the language of scholarly communication, there was new interest in the study and teaching of classical Latin and Greek. With biblical Greek and Hebrew added to the curriculum, especially in theological faculties, and new pride in the vernacular, educated writers strove for a new level of sophistication. One sign of the times was the practice of replacing the author's surname with a classical equivalent, usually Greek.

Luther's collaborator Philipp Schwartzerdt, construing his last name to mean "black earth," wrote as Philipp Melanchthon (from the medieval Greek melana "black" and *chithon* "earth"). The Swiss reformer Johann Husgen became, less probably, Johannes Oecompaladius, when he rationalized his surname as *Hausschein* ("house light") and substituted Greek equivalents (*oikos* "house" and *lampada* "light"). Theodor Buchmann, the Swiss Orientalist who revised Robert of Ketton's Latin Koran, called himself Theodorus Bibliander (from Greek *biblia* "books" and *andros* "man"). His student Johann *Herbst*, who became a professor of classical languages at Basel, wrote as Johannes Opporinus, rendering German *Herbst* "autumn" with Greek *oporo* (from *psthinooporo* "harvest"). An interesting exception to the practice was Samuel Eisenmenger (1534–1585), a German physician and astrologer with a special interest in prognostication. His surname meant "ironmonger," but he wrote instead as Samuel Siderocrates ("star power").

It seems quite possible that the medical reformer born Philippus Aureolus Bombastus von Hohenheim regarded the toponym to mean "high home" and chose to call himself Paracelsus (Greek *para* "beside" and Latin *celsus* "elevated" or "lofty position"). The more common etymology is "beyond Celsus," referring to the Roman medical writer Aulus Cornelius Celsus, a contemporary of Christ. But the adjective "celsus" was made a noun in Late Latin, much as it became *celsitude* in Middle English. The coinage is no farther fetched than that of his one-time amanuensis Johann Herbst. The writer who used this name called himself Theophrastus ("god speaker") in everyday life, but used the name Paracelsus in books published as early as 1626. Followers often called him "our Theo-

phrastus" ("unser Theophrastus") to distinguish him from the ancient Greek philosopher.

Paracelsus was born in 1493, at about the time that Columbus reached Puerto Rico on his second voyage of discovery. He was ten years younger than Luther, with whom he was often compared; indeed, rather to his disliking, he became known as the Luther of the physicians ("Lutherus physicorum") because he both reformed medicine and restored ideas that had been obscured or lost during the Middle Ages. They lived during a time of real change in the early modern world. The historian Will-Erich Peuckert referred to their time as *die grosse Wende*, the "great turning" when European society went from an economy that was largely agrarian to one that was predominately urban.[1] Paracelsus spent most of his life literally traveling between country and town; his language and many of his ideas came from the peasantry, but he brought his writings and teachings to major cities, from which he invariably retreated.

Despite the classical name, which can also mean something like "really conceited," Paracelsus wrote in his own language. He not only peppered his early-new-high-German (*Frühneuhochdeutsch*) prose with Latin terms and tags but salted them with neologisms that drew from many languages—Greek and Latin for the medical and scientific terminology, Greek and Hebrew for classical and biblical references, and the vernacular tongues for elements of folklore and popular culture. Inevitably, readers found themselves making lists of difficult words, and within a few decades of the author's death there were several dictionaries of Paracelsian terms. A dictionary appeared in 1612 that ran to almost five hundred pages of definitions in both Latin and German, "containing plain explanations of all obscure words, Hermetic subjects, and arcane phrases of Paracelsus."[2] The shorter dictionaries were compiled in part or full by people translating the work of Paracelsus into English, French, and other vernacular languages. The English translator called the neologisms "hard places," using the vocabulary of his day.[3]

This paper discusses the first dictionaries and offers readings of a sample text which, as readers and translators have long agreed, makes little sense until the code is broken and the words' etymological meanings are at least con-

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1 Will-Erich Peuckert, *Die Grosse Wende: Das apokalyptische Saeculum und Luther. Geistesgeschichte und Volkskunde,* 2 vols. (Hamburg: Classen & Goverts, 1948).

2 See Ruland, 1612, in Appendix II: *Select bibliography of Paracelsian dictionaries.* Other author-date citations refer to this Appendix. This is a deliberate deviation from the normal format for footnotes since the purpose of this essay consists of highlighting the role of the Paracelsian dictionaries as a group altogether.

3 See French, 1650.

jectured. It also follows the people who compiled the dictionaries, including their relations to Paracelsian thought, their use of previously published material, and their value to later students of Paracelsus. Some of the compilers are better known than others in the literature, but even the least known is significant in our story.

II Paracelsus (1493 – 1541)

Contemptuous of licensed physicians and convinced that he had learned more from alchemists and miners—indeed, from hangmen and witches—Paracelsus liked to interlard his German prose with neologisms from the biblical and classical languages as well as the vernacular. He did not coin all the words he used; he sometimes took them directly from alchemists or others. Nor did he always use words as they had been used in other languages; he was often, as the literary critic Northrop Frye once called himself, "a terminological buccaneer,"[4] adjusting a word's original meaning to serve his purpose.

Consider for a moment the portrait of Paracelsus on the frontispiece of a book published posthumously, in 1567 (Fig. 1).[5] The woodcut is sometimes called the Rosicrucian portrait of Paracelsus because it is rife with symbols associated with Rosicrucian texts of the early seventeenth century,[6] though taken from prognostications included in the book itself. As in many of the other posthumous woodcuts, Paracelsus is shown with his left hand on pommel of the broadsword that he habitually carried. But in this version, the word AZOTH is clearly visible there. Occult traditions hold that the word is a coinage that refers, quite literally,

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4 Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 362. The very word "buccaneer" is a fine example of the phenomenon Frye mentions: it not only refers to piracy but derives, by a sort of verbal piracy, from an indigenous word for a device that European visitors encountered in the Caribbean.

5 Paracelsus, *Astronomica et Astrologica* (Cologne: Heirs of Arnold Byrckman, 1567). A collection of tracts, mostly prognostications, introduced by one Bathasar Floeter Saganus (A4v). This edition is item number 85 in the catalogue of Paracelsian publications compiled by Karl Sudhoff in *Versuch einer Kritik der Echtheit der Paracelsischen Schriften*, vol. 1: *Die unter Hohenheim's Namen erschienenen Druckschriften* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1894). Numbered entries in Sudhoff's bibliography are cited in the Select Bibliography at the end of this paper.

Sudhoff's importance and influence in medical history and especially Paracelsian studies can hardly be overestimated. See For information on Sudhoff and his contributions, see Thomas Schlich, "Sudhoff, Karl (1853–1938)," *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing*, ed. Kelly Boyd, 2 vols. (London: Taylor and Francis, 1999), vol. 2, 1153–55.

6 Ralph M. Lewis, "Paracelsus," *The Rosicrucian Digest* 1 (2013): 14–17; here 14.

to the beginning and ending of Paracelsian science; that the word is made up of the first and last letters of the Roman, Greek, and Hebrew alphabets: Roman a and z, Greek alpha and omega, and Hebrew aleph and tau. However, the etymological note in the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* identifies the word as a corruption of *az-zāūq*, the Arabic word for mercury or quicksilver. The *OED* identifies "The universal remedy of Paracelsus" as a strictly secondary meaning.[7] Moreover, the secondary meaning gets extended to a celestial phenomenon, "a stellar emanation," in writings of Paracelsus and his followers.[8] We shall find further glosses in the early dictionaries to be considered.

Tradition also holds that Paracelsus carried *laudanum* in the pommel. The word is a Paracelsian coinage, referring to a medicament with an opiate base. Speculation has suggested that it derives from Latin *laudare* ("to praise") or *ladanum* ("gum residue"), but that is only speculation. Other medical neologisms clearly come from Latin—e.g., *colostrum* (mother's milk). Still others are of Latin origin, but far less obviously—e.g., *aroph*, said to be a contraction of *aroma philosophorum* ("aromatic substance of the philosophers"). Meanwhile, there is no doubt that he coined the word for his art—*spagyric*—from the Greek roots *spao* ("to open") and *ageiro* ("to close"). In doing so, he surely thought of the alchemists' motto *Solve et coagula* (Latin for "dissolve and coagulate"). One dictionary treats *spagyria* as the art of separating the pure from the impure, that is, "the art of distilling and separating." It then defines *spagirus* as the man who can do just this, separating "true from false, good from bad, pure from impure, rejecting the binary for the unity."[9]

A less likely coinage comes with the word for the universal solvent, much sought after by alchemists. The word "alkahest" combines the Arabic definite article, *al*, with the odd-sounding "kahest" to make what some regard as a pseudo-Arabic noun. The American occultist Manly Hall wrote that Paracelsus learned secrets of Arabic chemistry on his legendary travels, specifically from "dervishes

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7 On this and other words discussed in this section, see Appendix 1: *Some Paracelsian neologisms in English.*

8 See Ursula Szulazowska, *The Alchemy of Light: Geometry and Optics in Late Renaissance Alchemical Illustration.* Symbols et Emblemata: Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Symbolism, 10 (Leiden, Boston, Cologne: Brill, 2000), 46–47.

9 Ruland, 1612, 439. There may even be an echo of the biblical powers of binding and loosing, which Jesus conferred on his disciples (Matthew 18:18), though the Koine Greek uses different verbs.

Fig. 1. Portrait of Paracelsus. From Paracelsus, *Astronomia et Astrologica* (1567).

in Constantinople."[10] The word is much better documented in the writings of the seventeenth-century Paracelsian Johann Baptista Van Helmont.[11]

However, most coinages derive from Latin, usually the Late Latin of the high Middle Ages. Thus we find, in English translations, the words "elementate" (to derive from an element), "essentiate" (to make into an essence), "friation" (crumbling to pieces), "generatrix" (a mother) "lapillation" (the turning of bodies to stone), "magnale" (a marvel), and "mummy" (a vital principle or a medicine prepared from bitumous sources like crumbled mummies from Egypt). Even when Paracelsus names creatures from Alpine and Tyrolean folklore, he tends to prefer Latin sources. Thus we have his creatures of the elements, the salamanders, sylphs, gnomes or pygmies, and sirens or undines, and that live, respectively, in fire, air, earth, and water. Sometimes he uses the German, as for example "Wassermann" ("water man") for *undine*, though the word is usually reserved as the counterpart of "Aquarius."[12] Meanwhile, when Paracelsus wants to account for such Old Testament possibilities as the "translations" of Enoch, who "walked with God" (Genesis 5:24), or Elijah, who ascends to heaven in a fiery chariot (2 Kings 2:8), and he coins the word "Enochdiani" from Hebrew *Hanockh* ("consecrated," a cognate of Hanukkah) and Latin Diana ("heavenly").[13]

There is one word that neither Paracelsus nor his adversaries actually coined, though tradition holds that they did. The word "bombast" (rant) derives from a kind of cotton-wool padding, also called fustian, and not from the given named Bombast. In much the same way, the *OED* reports that "gibberish" (unintelligible speech) derives from the onomatopoetic verb "to gibber" and not,

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10 Manly P. Hall, *Man the Grand Symbol of the Mysteries* (Los Angeles: Manly P. Hall Publications, 1932), 52. The undocumented statement is frequently quoted—e.g., in Sue-Ellen Case, Performing Science and the Virtual (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 33.

11 See, e. g., Jan Baptist Van Helmont, *Opuscula Medica* (Colonia Agrippina [Cologne]: Joducum Kalkoven, 1644), 103–07; "Tractatus de Lithiasi," ch. 6. Helmont says the "liquor Alkahest" dissolves kidney stones.

12 The various creatures are named and discussed in Paracelsus, "A Book on Nymphs, Sylphs, Pygmies, and Salamanders, and on the Other Spirits," trans. Henry E. Sigerist, in Paracelsus, *Four Treatises*, ed. Henry E. Sigerist (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1941), 215–53. Also see Thomas Willard, "The Monsters of Paracelsus," *Beasts, Humans, and Transhumans in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. J. Eugene Clay. Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance Series (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

13 Thomas Willard, "Living the Long Life: Physical and Spiritual Health in Two Early Paracelsian Tracts," Albrecht Classen, ed., *Religion und Gesundheit: Der heilkundliche Diskurs im 16. Jahrhundert*. Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien, 3 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 347–80; here 369.

as is popularly thought, from Geber, the Latin name of the Persian alchemist Jabir ibn Hayyan.

Perhaps the most comprehensive account of Paracelsian jargon is that of Michael Kuhn.[14] Especially interested in the attempt to align medical language with the language of nature ("*Natursprache*"), Kuhn draws on studies of Paracelsus in relation to the question of the origin of language.[15] Whereas traditional medical language is arbitrary, Paracelsus wanted a semantically "motivated" language with a close correspondence of word and thing. He thought that man and the cosmos were both dynamic, and that words should change as things changed. His metaphor for the proper relationship of word and thing is the mirror—specifically, the microcosm of man as the mirror of the the natural and the supernatural worlds. Because things change, he realized that words cannot be fixed once and for all, and must combine scientific knowledge with intellectual insight. Thus, as one reviewer comments, "Paracelsus ends up in the nominalist camp after all."[16] Nevertheless, he offers the revolutionary proposition that, since the human body is a system, the language of medicine should be systematic.[17] This will require new words and new guides to the vocabulary.

The earliest guide is that of Michael Toxites.

III Michael Toxites (1514 – 1581)

Although older than the two other major editors of posthumously published work by Paracelsus, by more than a decade, Michael Toxites was the last to enter the field.[18] He was born Michael Schütz and raised in the small town of

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14 Michael Kuhn, *De nomine et vocabula: Das Begriff der medizinischen Fachsprache und die Krankheitsnamen bei Paracelsus* (1493–1541). Germanische Bibliothek, 3.24 (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1996).

15 Kuhn cites two essays from Joachim Gessinger and Wolfert von Rahden, ed., *Theorien vom Ursprung der Sprache*, 2 vols. (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989): Harald Haferland, "Mystische Theorie der Sprache bei Jacob Böhme" (vol. 1, 89–130, esp. 113–20) and Thomas Willard, "Rosicrucian Sign Lore and the Origin of Language" (vol. 1, 131–57, esp. 134–38).

16 Bruce T. Moran, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 72.4 (Winter 1998): 757–59. T. Moran, review of Michael Kuhn, *De nomine et vocabulo*, Bulletin of the History of Medicine 72.4 (Winter 1998): 757–59; here 759.

17 For a schematic description of "the ideal structure of Paracelsian names for illnesses and the possibilities of its implementation" see Kuhn, *De nomine et vocabulo* (see note 14), 211–12.

18 For background on the early publications discussed here, see Karl Sudhoff, "Ein Beitrag zur Bibliographie der Paracelsisten im 16. Jahrhundert," *Centralblatt zum Bibliothekswesen* 10 (1893): 316–26, 386–407).

Sterzing in the Austrian Tyrol. Like his teacher Philipp Melanchthon, he wrote under a name that he took from Greek. Schütz is the German word for "archer" or "marksman," and he chose a name close to the classical word meaning "poison for arrows" (*toxikon* in Greek and *toxicus* in Latin).[19] The name Toxites would then be the cognate of English toxicity and its variant toxity. However, the author may have wanted ambiguity akin to that of Greek pharmakon, which can mean "poison" or "cure," depending on the context. With the name Toxites, he also avoided misidentification as a maker of mediciments or pharmacist (Latin *pharmacopoles*).

He received a bachelor's degree in arts from Tübingen in 1532 and in 1542 received a master's degree from Wittenberg, where he studied under Melanchthon. A humanist at heart and more a man of the Renaissance than the Reformation, he chose the classroom over the church or the courts, holding several teaching positions in Alsatia. He became a citizen of Straßburg in 1541 and was made a Count of the Palatinate and Poet Laureate in 1544. He produced scholarly editions of texts as diverse as Cicero's *Pro doma sua* (1551), Aristotle's *Politics* (1555), and the *Idylls of Theocritus* (1562). He began medical studies in Straßburg in the 1560 s and earned the doctorate in medicine in 1572.[20] He established a medical practice in the Alsatian town of Hagenau, then a day's ride north of Straßburg, and remained there for the rest of his life. He died in 1581, at the age of 67.

After beginning his medical studies, Toxites concentrated studies on the writings of Paracelsus, becoming one of the most important editors of his previously unpublished works. He edited Paracelsus's *Archidoxa* (1570), *Astronomia Magna* (1571), *Von dem Bad Pfeffers* (1571), and *De Lapide Philosophorum* (1572), and translated the *Fünff Bücher vonn dem Langen Leben* (1574). The first and last of these have an interesting connection: they both treat longevity and include a large number of associated coinages, including the word archidoxa (principal teachings or opinions, from Greek archi and doxa).[21] Both

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19 See Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (1879; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), "toxicum," where the Latin word for "a poison in which arrows were dipped" is said to derive from Greek *toxikón*.

20 Urs Leo Gantelbein, "Toxites, Michael," *Historisches Lexikon der Schweitz*. http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/f/F42851.php (last accessed on Oct. 19, 2015). Also see *Der Frühparacelsismus*, ed. Wilhelm Kühlmann and Joachim Telle. Frühe Neuzeit, 59 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004), vol. 2.

21 Gerard Dorn translates *Archidoxa* as "natural secrets," the sense given in the *OED* entry found in the Appendix; see Paracelsus, *De Secretis Naturae mysteris libri decim*, trans. Gerald Dorn (Basel: Petrus Perna, 1570). Pietro Perna (1522 – 1582) took over a printing business in Basel in 1557 and soon began printing Paracelsian and alchemical books.

texts were written in German, but first printed in Latin. The edition by Toxites was the first published German text, and like the second work has a new translation by Toxites to replace the original, which survives only in a few fragments.[22] He also edited alchemical writings attributed to Alexander von Suchten (1570) and pseudo-Raymond Lull (1572), the first a follower of Paracelsus and the second a likely source for that writer. His last editions were of Paracelsus' De *Peste* and *Von den Krankheiten* (both 1576). The treatise on pestilence, or plague, has the added appeal of having been written in the region of Sterzing, where Toxites was born. Finally, Toxites secured and published the last will and testament of Paracelsus, with introductory information (1574).

Amid this significant run, Toxites did for Paracelsus what he had already done for Aristotle and Cicero: he wrote detailed commentaries on the medical advice in passages from more than a dozen separate texts.[23] A collection of fourteen German texts with Latin "explications" was published in 1575. The text was bilingual, as of course were most of the early Paracelsians. The title page boasted that the original texts were faithfully restored by Dr. Toxites, for the common good, with Latin explications added.[24] The bilingual text served several purposes. It made key medical ideas available to an international audience. It paraphrased the ideas in the familiar Latin terms of medical textbooks. Meanwhile, it preserved nuances that, some said, were lost in translation, and it respected Paracelsus' belief that his writing was for the Volk and not just a medical elite. The premise of the bilingual book—that each text will help to explain the other—recalls a tenet of alchemy: "Praeceptorum: Liber enim librum aperit, & sermo sermonem explicat" (Precept: Truly, one book opens another, and one speech [or saying or word] explains others).[25] Because no alchemist divulges all his secrets, or the whole secret if there is only one "secret of secrets," it is necessary to see how others treat the same problem. To use the example of alchemical writers just cited, Paracelsus may help to explain something that Lull writes, or Seaton something Paracelsus said. Conversely, Paracelsus may give context to

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22 Willard, "Living the Long Life" (see note 13), 354–58.

23 Michael Toxites, *Libri XIII Paragraphorum Philippi Theophrasti Paracelsi* (Straßburg: Christianus Mylius, 1575). Translated with commentary by Eric Marié as *Précis de medicine alchimique: À partir des XIV livres des paragraphes de Paracelse* (Vitré, France: Éditions Paracelse, 1989).

24 Michael Toxites, *Paragraphorum Philippi Theophrasti Paracelsi ... Nunc primum à doctore Toxite in communem vtilitatem integritati restituti, latinisque explicationibus* (Straßburg: Christianus Mylius, 1575).

25 Petrus Bonus, *Margarita Pertiosa Novella*, chap. 8; *Theatrum Chemicum*, vol. 5 (Straßburg: Zetzner, 1660), 588–92; here 591. The author attributes the precept to the Persian alchemist Al-Razi, known in the West as Rhases.

Seaton's words, or Lull to Paracelsus's. Toxites and others worked along these lines when compiling their dictionaries.

In 1574 Toxites combined his philological and medical knowledge in a two-part lexicon.[26] The first part is a guide to synonyms of medical and philosophical terms in various languages, especially Latin and Greek. The second part is a glossary of special names and terms found in the writings of Paracelsus. Terms are given in Latin, but definitions follow in both Latin and German, and sometimes in French as well; the German words often reproduce phrases found in the writings of Paracelsus, although the texts themselves are never cited. The book has a dedication to the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II (d. 1576), dated Hagenau, 15 March 1574.[27] Gracefully written, it establishes a line of descent from Hermes Trismegistus in antiquity to Paracelsus in the Emperor's own lifetime. Epideictic in tone, it praises Paracelsus and was later reprinted in the group of memorial statements at the close of the major Latin edition of Paracelsus's writings.[28] The dedication is followed by an epistle to the reader from one Johann Fischart, M.D. of Alsatia, who comments on Toxites's mastery of both philology and medicine.

Before the *Onomasticon of Toxites*, the closest one could come to a guide in difficult passages was an index of words and things such as one finds in translations by Gerard Dorn[29] or the commentary by Leo Suavius.[30] In Dorn's edition, one finds such entries as these:

Homo syderum corpus habet ac elementum
[man has a sidereal body as well as an elemental]

Homines phantastici vel phantasmata quaduplica
[phantastic or phantasmal man (is) fourfold]

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26 Toxites, 1574.

27 Toxites, 1574, a2–a6r.

28 Paracelsus, *Opera Omnia Medico-Chemico-Chirurgica*, ed. Friedrich Bitiskius, 3 vols. (Geneva: de Tournes, 1658), vol. 3, n.p.

29 See the "Index Rerum Merorabilium" in Paracelsus, *De Meteoris liber unus*, trans. Gerard Dorn (Basel: Petrus Perna, 1569), b4r–b6v.

30 See the "Index Rerum et Verborum Singularium Huius Operis" in Leo Suavius [pseud. of Jacques Gohorry], *Compendium*, Ex optimis quibusque eius libris: Cum scholijs in libros IIII. eisdem De Vita Longa, Plenos mysteriorum, parabolarum, aenigmatum (Basel: Peter Perna, 1568), Y6r–Z5v. Paracelsus used the word only once in work published during his lifetime, and there it was to refer to the generative organs; see Paracelsus, *Grosse Wundartzney: Das Ander Buch* (Augsburg: Hainrich Stainer, 1537), fol. 26r; chap. 11.

Homo primus creatus est absque medio syderum
[the first man was created without the astral medium]

Meanwhile, Suavius has these entries:

Hominis generatio [the generation of man]
Homo est eiusdem naturae cum auro [man is of the same nature as gold]
Homo microcosmus [man the microcosm, microcosmic man]

Dorn gave page and line numbers to the translated text, while Gohorry usually gave page numbers to his commentary.

With Toxites, there is no entry as general as man, but there are many entries devoted to specifics. Under *Iliaster* (a coinage for the original substance of all material things, derived from Greek *hyle* "matter" and perhaps *ilium* "belly" plus *astrum* "star") there is a full paragraph with supporting details:

> Iliastes, prima rerum omnium materia ex Mercurio, sale, salphure constans, Chaos: nihil enim est in tota rerum natura, quod non ex istis tribus consistat, atque haec tria Theophrasti sunt principia, que analysi spagirica deprehenduntur: nihil praeter illa tria inueniemus: quae singula in singulis elementis sunt. Haec tria etiam Ioannes Fernelius medicus & Philosophus Parisiensis eximius animaduertit in sua medicina de humido innato. Haec veteres etiam olim tradiderunt. Itaque non primus Theophrastus inuenit: sed tenebris obruta in lucem reuocauit, de quibus breui, ut spero aliquid edemus.[31]

> [Iliaster is the first Chaos of all matter, consisting of Mercury, Salt, and Sulphur: truly there is nothing in the whole nature of things that does not arise from this triad., and these are the three principles of Theophrastus discovered by spagyric analysis. We find nothing outside this triad that exists singularly in single elements. This was examined by the Parisian physician and philosopher Johannes Fernelius in his treatment of radical humidity. These too was once handed down by the ancients. Theophrastus did not discover them, but recalled them from the shadows in which they were buried in into the light, so that we could have some hope.]

The reference to Jean Fernel is, of course, Toxites's addition.[32] It offers a recent authority for the idea of a radical humidity (*humiditas radicale*), known primarily from alchemical tracts, and moreover an authority from the Paris medical faculty, which resolutely resisted the ideas of Paracelsus. When the same reference to

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31 Toxites, 1574, 443.

32 The probable reference is to Joannes Fernelius, *De Naturali Parte Medicinae* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1542). Fernel discusses the radical humidity in *Universa Medicina* (Paris: A. Wechelus, 1567), bk. 1, ch. 8.

Fernel reappears in later dictionaries of Paracelsian terminology, one may be sure that the author is following Toxities, directly or indirectly.

The definition does not end here. Toxites goes on to define four kinds of Iliaster:

> Iliaster primus, est terminus vitae, ipsa vita, ac Balsamus hominis. Der erst oder eingefazt Iliaster / ist selbs das leben / der zwek des lebens / der Menschlich lebhalf balsam. Gall. C'est la vie mesme, le baulsme de vie humaine. [33]

> [The first Iliaster is the span of life itself and the balsam of man. French: This is life itself, the balsam of human life. The first or near Iliaster is life itself, the purpose of life, the human bodily balsam. French: This is life itself, the balsam of human life.]

> Iliaster secundus, est terminus vitae iam preparatus, quem ex Elementis, siue rebus elementaris habemus, vitaque ipsa. Der ander oder bereitet Iliaster / ist das zugericht zil des lebens / der lebendig balsam / den wir aus den elementen / oder elementischen dingen haben. Gall. Le baulsme viuant, sortant des Elements.

> [The second is the preordained terminus of life, which we get from the Elements or elementary things. French: The living balsam, coming from the elements]

> Iliaster tertius, terminus vitae & balsam est, quem ex rerum quinta essentia habemus. Der dritt ist das end des lebens / und der balsam / den wir aus dem fünften wäsen schöpfen. Gall. Le bausaulme de vie sortant de la cinquiesme essensce.

> [The third Iliaster is the span of life, which we derive from the quintessence of things. The third is the end of life and the balsam created from the quintessence. French: The balsam of life proceeding from the fifth essence.]

> Iliaster quartus siue magnus, est mentis siue animi raptus in alterum mundum, veluti Enoch. Helias, & alij rapti sunt. Dert virt oder gros Iliaster ist die verzuchtung unn[d] verfassung des gesmüts / so der Mensch in die ander Welt gezuchtet wird / als Enoch / Elias / und Paulus: Gall. C'est le rauement d'homme au l'autre monde.[34]

> [The fourth or great Iliaster is the rapture of the mind or soul into the other world, as Enoch, Elijah, and others were rapt. The third or great Iliaster is the raptured experience of the mind. Thus Enoch, Elijah, and Paul. French: This is the rapture of man to the other world.]

The "great Iliaster" defined so succinctly here is the same that Suavius mentioned in a marginal note to the last book of *De Vita Longa*, one of the most dif-

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33 A note at the end of this definition, "Vide infra pag. 445," refers readers to the definition of the Iliastes.

34 Toxites, 1564, 443–44. "Gall." is an abbreviation of Gallice "in French."

ficult books in the Paracelsian corpus with perhaps the highest percentage of neologisms.[35]

Despite the great effort that clearly went into Toxites's dictionary, one must not assume that he is solely responsible for it. There were other careful readers of Paracelsus during the decades before he compiled the dictionary. Some of them made notes on key words, either on the endpapers of his books or on separate pages, and Toxites may have had access to some of them. Even the master may have prepared a list of sort. His assistant Johannes Herbst, whose pen name Oporinus has been noticed, gave manuscripts to both Toxites and Bodenstein.[36]

Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that most compilers of Paracelsian dictionaries, if not all, had access to the one prepared by Toxites. This is even the case with a dictionary that appeared only months after his.

IV Adam von Bodenstein (1528 – 1577)

The first editor of posthumously published work by Paracelsus, Adam von Bodenstein was the son of Andreas Bodenstein of Karlstadt, a reformed theologian who had taught Luther at Wittenberg and later debated him at the Diet of Worms. Choosing a different career path, the son took a degree in medicine from the University of Basel, where Paracelsus had taught for a single year. By his own account, Bodenstein became the personal physician of Prince Otto-Henry, the Elector Palatine, who repeatedly urged him to read Paracelsus. He finally did so while in Basel undergoing treatment for tertian (i.e., malarial) fever. His condition was worsening, and he had developed an ear infection (*tympanitus*) when a friend brought him a Paracelsian remedy. It must have had a nasty smell and taste, for it contained a sulfur-based solvent (*spiritus vitrioli*) as well as a powerfully emetic wine of antimony (*liquor serapini*) and opium (*laudanum*). Although he had been taught that Paracelsus was an imposter whose prescriptions should be avoided, Bodenstein was in extremis and took it as prescribed. A month later he was cured and thanking God for having sent so wise a physician to earth.

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35 Suavius, *Compendium* (see note 13), for 139–41; *De Vita Longa*, book 4, chapter 3. Suavius uses the original four-book edition; page 139 is mistakenly numbered 147. On neologisms in the book on longevity, see Udo Benzenhofer, *Studien zum Frühwerk des Paracelsus im Bereich Medizin und Naturkunde* (Münster: Klemm & Oelschläger, 2005).

36 Walter Pagel, Paracelsus: *An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance*, 2nd ed. (1958; Basel: Karger, 1982), 31.

Bodenstein began studying the writings of Paracelsus and testing remedies. Indeed, he became a secret follower ("heimlich Junger Paracelsi").[37] He had so much success with patients that he decided to make a public turn "from the old supposed medicine to the natural ... way" ("vom alter vermeinter medicin / zum natürlichen /... weyse").[38] He prided himself on being the first university-trained physician to espouse "in published writing the salutary, true Theophrastean teaching" "in offenen schreiben Theophrastlicher heilsamen / wahrhafften lehre". Beginning in 1560, he produced a series of editions, in German and Latin translation, many of them first editions prepared, most likely, from manuscripts Paracelsus left with his former patient. Otto-Henry Bodenstein also wrote medical books of his own.

In 1575, the year after Toxites had published his *Onomastica*, Bodenstein issued a dictionary of his own. It was barely a quarter the length of the other: 31 numbered pages of definitions compared to 118. The entries were correspondingly few and briefer. Here is the information on the Iliaster:

> Iliastes, tres primae, vt est mercurius, sulphur, sal, die erste materi vor aller schöpffung / das chaos.[39]

> [Iliaster, the three first things, i. e., mercury, sulfur, and salt. The first matter of all creation / that is chaos.]

On page 1, Bodenstein identified his onomasticon as covering "Paracelsian words: meaning and interpretation" ("Paracelsischer Wörter bedeüttüng und außlegung"). He does all this very efficiently, though not in the same detail as Toxites, who signed himself "the most studious" (*Studiosiszmus*) Michael Toxites.[40] Bodenstein does not mention the rival volume, but is clearly aware of it.

In a dedicatory epistle to his "true disciple" ("getrewen Discipulo") Melchior Weil of Solothurn, dated 28 September 1574, six months after the preface to Toxites's dictionary, Bodenstein suggests the work would have appeared sooner had he not fallen ill. There seems to be a sort of competition for priority; and indeed the great authority on these early texts, Karl Sudhoff, has noted that some of the definitions appeared, in even more abbreviated form in a collection issued eight

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37 Adam von Bodenstein, "Vorred," Paracelsus, *Von dem krankeyten so die vernunfft berauben* (Basel: n.p. [Petrus Perna?], 1567), *2r–*4v; here *3r.

38 Bodenstein, "Vorred," *3v.

39 Bodenstein 1575, 18

40 Toxites, 1574, a6r.

years earlier.[41] Bodenstein clearly has a sense of ownership, having embraced Paracelsus a full decade before his rival.

The works are distinctly different. Bodenstein lists ten terms on his first page, while Toxites has only five. Bodenstein's first entry is brief: "ADECH, hoc est, internus opifex in homine (Adech, that is, the internal work in man," 1) Toxites defines three other terms before getting to Adech, and gives a definition in Latin, German, and French, with the German paraphrased from Paracelsus:

> Adech, homo inuisibilis interior, qui omnibus rebus formam dat in animo, quas exterior homo minibus uisibilis atque tangibilis efficit.

> [Adech, the invisible interior man, who gives form to everything in the soul that he exterior man makes visible and tangible. (386)]

The longer definition makes it clear that Paracelsian thought is basically Platonic when it comes to the relation of the idea and the thing: the idea takes shape in the soul and is then made real in the physical world. Toxites needs a new quarto page to complete the definition, for he has already included three terms not included by Bodenstein as well as a fourth that Bodenstein's printer placed out of sequence.

Bodenstein often defines terms in German only. Although he writes his preface in Latin, he clearly intends his *Onomasticon* mainly for German-speaking readers.

V Gerhard Dorn (ca. 1530–ca. 1584)

Unlike Toxites or Bodenstein, Gerhard Dorn was not a physician by trade. He took classes at the medical faculties in Besançon and Tübingen, but left after discovering the work of Paracelsus. Encouraged by the slightly older Bodenstein, to whom he dedicated a work on alchemy influenced in part by his new study of Paracelsus, he spent more than a decade in Basel, translating texts of Paracelsus into Latin.[42]

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41 Sudhoff, *Versuch* (see note 5), 273–74.

42 For further details on Dorn, see Kahn, *Alchimie et Paracelcisme en France* (1567–1625) (Geneva: Droz, 2009), 278–322; also see Thomas Willard, "The Star in Man: C. G. Jung and Marie-Louise von Franz on the Alchemical Philosophy of Gerard Dorn," *Gutes Leben und Guter Tod von der Spätantike bis zur Gegenwart: Ein Philosophisch-Ethischer Diskurs über die Jahrhunderte hin-*

Born in Belgium, the multilingual Dorn signed himself Gérard or Gerhard, depending on his whereabouts, and still more frequently wrote as Gerardus Dornaeus. He seems to have written almost exclusively in Latin; later editions of his work in French and German seem to be translations. He was by some distance the most prolific of Paracelsus's Latin translators, with Bodenstein a distant second. Like Toxites and Bodenstein, he wrote a commentary on alchemical texts.[43] Nevertheless, he was a loyal Paracelsian to the end. After moving to Frankfurt am Main, the center of the book trade, he prepared a series of Paracelsian books, many of them drawn from earlier work of his own. He opened a whole "thesaurus," or treasury, of Paracelsian information as part of a "fascicle of Paracelsian medicine" in a hefty volume of 1581. Clearly designed as a physician's desk reference, it has hundreds of short preparations, treatments, and cures with an eleven-page index. However, between the text and index is an extensive "Paracelsian dictionary," which offers "Definitions of obscure places and words occurring throughout the writings of Paracelsus" ("de obscuriorum locorum et vocum in scriptis Paracelsi paßim occurrentium, definitionis").[44] It was reissued as a separate volume two years later, in a new typesetting but apparently without other changes.[45] The reset text was also issued in Basel, by Dorn's old publisher Pietro Perna.[46] It may have been the last book that either author or publisher handled, for both died at about this time.

Unlike Bodenstein, Dorn drew extensively from the dictionary of Toxites. He also seems familiar with the dictionary of Bodenstein.[47] He does not mention either name in the brief note to the reader or the dedicatory epistle to Samuel Sidocrates, the physician and astrologer whose posthumous encyclopedia of Para-

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weg, ed. Albrecht Classen. Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien, 4 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 425–61, esp. 431–34.

43 Trevisanus, Bernardus, and Dionys Zacharius, *De Chymico Miraculo, quod Lapidem Philosophiae appellant*, ed. Gerardus Dornaeus (Basel: Petrus Perna, 1583). The dedicatory epistle, from Frankfurt a. M. in February 1583, is the last record of Dorn's life, and the volume itself was printed after Perna's death in 1582.

44 Dorn, 1581, 118r. The volume was translated into German by Michael Hornning, who entitles the dictionary "The True Illumination of the darker, less understandable passages, speeches, and words in the writings of Paracelsus" ("Die Erklärung etlicher dunkler vnverständlicher Orter, Reden vnd Wörter in Paracelsi Schriften"); see Dorn 1618.

45 Dorn, 1583 (ed. cit.).

46 Dorn, 1584.

47 The two lexicons are easily comparable, for facsimiles of both are included in one modern volume: Gerardus Dornaeus, *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi* and Adam von Bodenstein, *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi* (Hildesheim and New York: G. Olms, 1981).

celsian lore would prove so influential in early Rosicrucian writings.[48] Indeed, he suggests that his dictionary is the first, or so the ever-suspicious Sudhoff thinks. Sudhoff paraphrases Dorn's statement that "we know of no 'onomasticon' of Hohenheim himself" ("wir doch kein 'Onomasticon' von Hohenheim selber kennen").[49] He also notes that many of the articles in Dorn's dictionary are simply "taken" ("ausgenommen") from Toxites.[50]

What is perhaps surprising for this multilingual author is that Dorn's dictionary has no German or French words, only Latin. Whereas Toxites and Bodenstein are scrupulously bilingual, especially when they suspect that something might be gained by having the original German words, Dorn seems to assume that his definitions only clarify the German. Indeed, it can be hard at times to determine where Paracelsus leaves off and he begins.

Dorn lists seven terms on the first page of his dictionary, of which five terms appear in Toxites and only two in Bodenstein. Compare the entries on the Adech in the previous section to Dorn's entry, which adds to what Toxites wrote earlier.

> Adech, est interior & inuisibilis homo noster, qui singulorum exemplaria praefigurat in animo nostro, quae manibus suis postea fingit ac imitatur exterior iste homo noster visibilis, vterque iuxta suam naturam operatur.[51]

> [Adech is our interior and invisible man, which who prefigures in our soul what the exterior man what our exterior and visible man imitates and makes with his hands. Each is done according to its own nature.]

Dorn clearly paraphrases, while Bodenstein does not. Dorn also adds the somewhat unnecessary detail that the visible and invisible each works according to its nature. Sometimes, however, he expands the entry very considerably. Toxites gives ten lines of text for a definition of the subterranean fire that Paracelsus calls the Aethna, including a German quotation and synonyms in French and Italian. Dorn expands his definition into a 50-line essay on Mt. Aetna and vol-

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48 Samuel Eisenmenger, *Cyclopaedia Paracelsica Christiana: Drey* Bucher *von dem waren ursprung und herkommen der freyen Kunsten aucher der Physiognomia, obern Wunderwecken unn Witterungen*, 3 vols. in 1 (n.p., n.p. [Straßburg: Bernard Jobin?], 1585). (Sudhoff 205.) Eisenmenger or Sidocrates was a professor of mathematics at Tübingen, where his encyclopaedia circulated in manuscript until his death in 1585. The *Cyclopedia* shows the influence of the radical reformer Kaspar Schwenkfeld. See http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel_Eisenmenger (last accessed on Oct. 19, 2015).

49 Sudhoff, *Versuch* (see note 5), 344. Sudhoff distrusted Dorn more than the other early editors and translators of Paracelsus.

50 Sudhoff, *Versuch* (see note 5), 324; discussing the original version in Dorn 1581.

51 Dorn, 1583, 11.

canism generally. (All of these early dictionaries are printed in quarto, so that page sizes are comparable.) It is in these longer entries that the line between Paracelsus and Dorn gets fuzzy. Take, for example, the famous Paracelsian conception of the homunculus.

Bodenstein wrote nothing about the homunculus, while Toxites noted simply:

> Homunculi, imagines quae hominem sydereum inuisibilem in se habent, ad hominum similitudinem facte. kleine menschen oder bilder auff die menschen geinacht / die den vnsichtbarn menschen des gestirns in jnen haben.[52]

> [Homunculi, images that invisible sidereal men have in them, made to the human image. Little men or pictures made from men which the unseen men of the stars have in them.]

The whole matter of sidereal men is tied to the world view of Paracelsus and his understanding of the imagination. It certainly begs for clarification here, and Dorn takes up the problem at some length. He dismisses the golem-like homunculus as a superstition:

> Homunculi, superstitiosae sunt imaguncule, loco vel nomine alicuius fabrefactae, vt astralem hominem inuisibilem contineant, cuius causa fictae fuerunt in superstitiosum vsum.[53]

> [Homunculi are superstitious images, a concept or name for anything fabricated to protect the invisible astral man, which were made for superstitious use.]

Dorn is entirely correct; Paracelsus recognized that some people lose their reason for fear of a witch or planet with designs against them. When reasoning with them does not work, he suggests giving them a homunculus made of wax to which the evil will be diverted.[54] But what of those little men made from semen gestated forty weeks in horse dung? Dorn rather thinks that this has more to do with the dung of bulls, and that Paracelsus wrote under veils, as the alchemists were wont to do. He devotes five paragraphs, covering seven pages, to what is really meant by homunculi. One scholar has called the passage "an elaborate attempt to decode the explicit instructions of the *De Natura Rerum* of Paracelsus into a medicinal recipe based on wheat and wine."[55] In Dorn's de-

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52 Toxites, 1574, 440.

53 Dorn, 1583, 54.

54 Paracelsus, "A Book concerning Long Life," Waite, 1984, vol. 2, 121.

55 Dorn 1583, 48–54. See William Royal Newman, *Promethean Ambitions: Alchemy and the Quest to Perfect Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 223.

fense, it must be said that he is responding to a passage in a text no longer attributed to Paracelsus.[56]

At 94 pages, Dorn's dictionary is somewhat shorter than Toxites's, which runs to 118, with at least as many words in Latin. Whatever its limitations, Dorn's was probably the most influential of all the Paracelsian dictionaries published during the sixteenth century—and there is one more to be considered.

VI Roch le Baillif (1540 – 1598)

Roch le Baillif, Sieur de Rivière, was born in Calvados, in 1540, and studied medicine at the Université de Caen. After practicing in Brittany, he arrived in Paris in 1578, the celebrated author of a new book on the new medicine of Paracelsus. He launched a series of public lectures on alchemical medicines, and was appointed *médecin ordinarire* to King Henry III. Alarmed by his sudden celebrity, the Parisian Medical Faculty brought him to trail, demanding that he be expelled from Paris, where only its graduates were allowed to practice. The suit was successful, and he was ordered to leave the city in 1579.[57] This has been called a significant early victory for the orthodox foes of Paracelsian innovations. However, recent research has found that the court order was merely provisional.[58] He seems to have left Paris only during the plague of 1580 and to have returned at will.[59]

Le Baillif's book of 1578 offered a "true summary" of Paracelsian medicine, in a work that included three hundred aphorisms in Latin and French.[60] From the outset, the aphorisms challenge the medical orthodoxy. The first divides doctors into "naturals" and "experimenters," i.e., those with an intuitive knowledge of remedies and empirics who have learned by trial and error. If that is not enough, the second says all other doctors are void of knowledge. The third dismisses the humoral approach to medicine, propounded by Galen in antiquity and still taught at the Faculty of Medicine in Paris. It asserts, to the contrary, that

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56 Paracelsus, "De generatione hominis," idem, Drey Tractat: 1. De generatione hominis, 2. De massa corporis humani, 3. de secretis creationis (Straßburg: Christian Müller, 1577). (Sudhoff 175)

57 Allen G. Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy: Paracelsian Science and Medicine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 2 vols. (New York: Science History Publications, 1977), vol. 1, 155–59; Allen G. Debus, *The French Paracelsians: The Chemical Challenge to Medical and Scientific Tradition in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 38–45, 99, 185–86.

58 Didier Kahn, *Alchimie et Paracelsisme en France* (see note 42), 278–322.

59 http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roch_Le_Baillif (last accessed on Oct. 19, 2015).

60 See Le Baillif 1578.

human "properties and conditions come from superior bodies, and not from humors," which have no other basis than "opinion."[61] And so the aphorisms continue, saying that medicine is an art tried in the fire (§ 6) and insisting that the anatomy of human bodies is no more important than the corresponding anatomy of the world, by which a true doctor diagnoses illness (§ 20).[62] Even the few Parisian doctors who accepted specific treatments by Paracelsus were alarmed, for le Baillif mentioned three hundred manuscripts that the master had hidden before his death.[63] Some had been published by Bodenstein and Dorn, he wrote, but others remained unknown. Some of the posthumous work is considered spurious, and le Baillif seems to favor esoterica; his book has sections on conjuring, magic, and chiromancy.

Toward the end of the book, le Baillif includes a dictionary. In the table of contents, he describes it as "A Latin dictionary with interpretations of words the ancients used to keep the truth of alchemy hidden among themselves" (*Un dictionnaire Latin de l'interpretation des mots desquels les anciens ont usé pour entr'eux tenir la verité de l'Alchimie cachee*).[64] In the introduction to the dictionary itself, he explains that "jealousy" (*ialousie*) led alchemists to hide their secrets behind enigmatic terms and that he has "extracted and arranged a little Latin dictionary, where you will find the intentions of the ancients along with those of our doctor Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus in the interpretation of their words" ("dressé & extraict un petit Dictionnaire latin, auquel trouueras l'intention sur ces des anciens, ensemble de nostre docteur Ph. Aur. Th. Parac. en l'interpretation en partie de leurs mots").[65] However, he makes no effort to separate the "ancients" from Paracelsus, when he lumps them all under the Paracelsian term "spagyric," introducing his work as "A small dictionary declaring the significations of words, which are used by philosophers about spagyric matter" (*Dictionariolum declarans verborum significationes, quorum in re spagyrica vsi sunt Philosophi*).[66] Le Baillif explains: "Spagyric, or spagyria, is the art which teaches how to separate the pure from the impure" ("Spagyrica, vel spagiria, est ars quae puro ab impuro separare docet").[67] This definition, like

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61 Le Baillif, 1578, 22–23; the Latin and French texts appear on facing pages.

62 Le Baillif, 1578, 24–27.

63 Le Baillif, 1578, c2r.

64 Le Baillif, 1578, a2r.

65 Le Baillif, 1578, 120, 123.

66 Le Baillif, 1578, 124–46; correctly renumbered 134–56 in copy now at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

67 Le Baillif, 1578, 143.

many others, is borrowed from Toxites's *Onomasticon.*[68] Karl Sudhoff's copy of Toxites's *Onomasticon,* now in the Bavarian State Library, has penciled annotations throughout to indicate where "Bailiff" or "B." has borrowed material in an entry.

However, the "little dictionary" had great influence in the next century, first when it was included at the end of what became the major Latin edition of Paracelsus's writings[69] and, still later, later when it was mined for Latin terms in an important lexicon on Neo-Latin terms.[70] Moreover, because the Latin edition was the base for the best-known English-language anthology of Paracelsus, edited by Arthur Edward Waite, le Baillif's terms form the starting point for Waite's lexicon.[71]

VII Martin Ruland the Elder (1532 – 1602) and the Younger (1569 – 1611)

In or about 1566, Toxites wrote a commendatory poem for a book of synonyms that resembled his to some extent. At twenty lines, the poem is the longest one addressed to the young physician and count of the Rheinish Palatinate— titles that the older Toxites had still to earn for himself. It supposes, rather fancifully, that Count Martin Ruland has created a whole world of words, whole lands and seas that it would take an adventurer to measure. (There is probably a word play on the Latin word *mercator* ("merchant") and the name Latin pen name of the map maker Gérard de Cremer (Gerardus Mercator), whose first map of the world appeared in 1539.[72] Just below the poem of Toxites is a shorter one by Samuel Siderocrates, whose Paracelsian encyclopedia was already in the making.[73] Siderocrates compares the author to Apollo as others in the front matter do to Mercurius.

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68 Dorn, 1583, 86.

69 Paracelsus, *Opera Omnia* (see note 9), vol. 3, supplementary pages [11]–18.

70 Charles Fresne, Sieur du Cange, et al., *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Paris: Billaine, 1678). The author, a physician of the Rheinish Palatinate, named Ruland as his principal source.

71 In the Geneva folio (see note 28), Le Baillif's *Dictionariolum* is reprinted on unnumbered folio pages at the end of volume 3. Waite's dictionary is discussed in section IX below.

72 Martin Ruland, *Synonyma, seu, Copia Verborum Graecorum* (Geneva: Joannes Lertout, 1585), 7r–v. The author's "preface and dedication" is dated January 6, 1566.

73 See note 27 above.

Ruland's book is presented as a very dense forest (*Sylva Plenissima*). For the most common Latin words and phrases, it presents counterparts from classical Greek literature. Nearly twice as long as the *Onomasticon* of Toxites, it does not focus on philosophical or medical contexts, but includes passages from poets and playwrights as well as historians and grammarians. Thoroughly Humanistic, it encourages the user to compose messages in classical Greek by providing models of proper usage.

Ruland was nevertheless a good Paracelsian and, like Toxites, combined his philological skills and medical knowledge in a dictionary of Paracelsian and alchemical terms. In later years he became the *Leibarzt* to the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II, whom he served until his own death in 1602. (The hypochondriacal emperor lived for another decade.) His son Martin became a Paracelsian alchemist and physician in the court of Rudolf, who made him a Count on 2 September 1608. The son had a hand in the posthumous publication of the *Lexicon Alchymiae*, which received letters patent in September 1607.[74] He wrote the dedicatory epistle to Prince of the duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneberg, dated Prague, 10 April 1611. He died later that year, before the book was ready for sale.[75] Although he deserves credit for his contributions, the lexicon is considered the work of the elder Ruland.

In the dedicatory epistle, the younger Ruland refers to "the magnitude of the erudition" ("magnitudine eruditionis") that went into the volume and essential if one is to "penetrate the mystery of the words and subjects" in the obscure writings of alchemists and Paracelsians ("penetrare in verborum rerumque mysteria").[76] Because the lexicon mixes words of the alchemists and Paracelsians in a single alphabetical sequence, it necessarily runs to several times the length of Toxites's *Onomasticon*. There are 471 numbered pages of definitions in the first edition, almost exactly four times the 118 pages of Toxites. In the words of its subtitle, it offers "An Alchemystic dictionary with clear explications of the obscure Hermetic words and concepts as well as phrases of Theophrastus Paracelsus."

Some Paracelsian definitions, like that of the Iliaster, are taken verbatim from Toxites, including the German words in black letter typeface. Others, like that of the Adech, follow the text of Dorn, and with that term expand on it. Moreover, there are countless words not found in any previous guide to the Paracelsian vocabulary. He covers fourteen words on the first two pages before he comes

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74 Ruland, 1612, *2v.

75 R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World* (1973; London: Thames & Hudson, 1997), 160, 204–05.

76 Ruland, 1612, *1v.

to a term that Toxites also treats, and there he takes the definition from the older dictionary. He has some essays of his own, such as on the stone of the Philosophers (Lapis Philosophicum)[77] and long lists of various kinds of gems and other stones.

These five dictionaries of Paracelsian terms, published between 1574 and 1612 and prepared for the most part in Latin and by people born during the lifetime of Paracelsus, were the base from which all others drew. The next generations saw the emergence of more dictionaries in the vernacular, though Latin counterparts continued to appear.

VIII John French (1616 – 1657) and William Johnson (fl. 1652 – 1678)

The first to compile a dictionary of Paracelsian and alchemical terms in English, John French was born to a yeoman of the same name. He studied at Oxford University, from which he received a bachelor's degree in 1637, a master's degree in 1640, and an MD in 1648. Like many of his contemporaries, he found his life profoundly disrupted by the civil wars of 1642–1648, during which he interrupted his medical studies to serve as a physician in the parliamentary army of Sir Thomas Fairfax. Discharged, he joined the staff of Savoy Hospital in London and applied for admission to the College of Physicians. There is no evidence that he was made a member, and his strong advocacy of Paracelsian and other reforms may help to account for this. He remained loyal to the parliamentary cause, and reentered the army during combat in the Netherlands, where he died in 1657.[78]

During the last decade of his life, French was active as a writer and translator. He wrote books on techniques of distillation (1651) and the medical advantages of spa waters (1652), the last a subject much discussed by Paracelsus. He translated a recent book on chemical furnaces (1651). His original writings were frequently reprinted, but he became best known for two other translations. He translated the *De Occulta Philosophia* of Cornelius Agrippa (1651) and the *Novum Lucem Chymicum* of the Paracelsian physician and alchemist Michael Sendivogius (1650). To this last work he added a translation of Paracelsus's nine-book *De Natura Rerum* and what is basically a translation of Dorn's Dictio-

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77 Ruland, 1612, 292–97; actually a series of short entries on aspects of the search for the philosophers' stone.

78 Peter Elmer, "French, John (c. 1616–1657)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com (last accessed on Oct. 19, 2015).

narium. Although he did not name Dorn as the author, he claimed to be nothing more than the translator. In his introductory epistle to the reader, he wrote:

> To these [i. e., texts of Sendivogius and Paracelsus] is added a *Chymicall Dictionary*, explaining hard places, and words with withall in obscure Authors. But this, and the other I speak of more sparingly in the commendations of, because if read they will speak more for themselves then I can speak for them: only I was willing to the English nations sake, whose spirits are much drawn forth after knowledge, to translate them into the English tongue. I did not doe it to multiply books, (for there are too many books already; and the multitude of them is the greatest cause of our ignorance, in in them is a great vanity) but to let thee see the light of Nature, by which though maist judg of truths, and the better conceive of the God of Nature ....[79]

Yet the dictionary is not a simple translation. Though he clearly has Dorn's dictionary in front of him, and perhaps only that one, he takes more liberties there than with the texts of Sendivogius and Paracelsus.

For example, French translates the entries on the Iliaster quite literally, but he does not include the long entry with Dorn's allegorical interpretation of the homunculus and does not translate the shorter entry on Homunculi as "superstitious images." Instead he writes his own entry, on the text he has translated:

> Homunculus in Paracelsus is a man-made artificially, the processe whereof you may see at large in the foregoing treatise the eight page, and sometimes they are taken for superstitious images.[80]

The reference is to the famous "discussion of the generation of Artificiall men" in book 1 of Paracelsus's treatise *On the Nature of Things*. Paracelsus says there that the existence of "Artificiall men" has long been a secret unknown to most humans, but "known to Fairies of the Woods, Nymphs, and Gyants many ages since, because they come from them."[81]

In many other places, French simply abbreviates or omits. His text goes to only 48 pages, barely half the length of Dorn's. He shows a very English tendency to keep it sweet and simple. In many other places, French simply abbreviates or omits. His text goes to only 48 pages, barely half the length of Dorn's. He shows a very English tendency to keep it sweet and simple. Moreover, the reference to the English language in the book's introduction shows him curiously uninterested in multilingualism. The original dictionary makers—especially Toxites and the elder

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79 French, 1650, A4r–v.
80 French, 1650, Ddd1r.
81 Paracelsus, *On the Nature of Things*, trans. French, 1650, 8–9.

Ruland but also Dorn—were all deeply imbued with classical learning and took their master as one who brought its secrets into the light as much as he may have been one who went "beyond Celsus."[82] Not so with French, who is writing for "upstart" physicians, self-taught and unlicensed but God-fearing and trusting in the light of Nature.

With the breakdown of censorship during the Commonwealth period, or Interregnum, and the health crises associated with war, plague, and crop failures in England, the country had need for such people, he suggested in the prefatory epistle.[83] Translations of medical books suddenly flourished. Indeed, a goodly portion of the Paracelsian publications of the 1650s were in English.[84] There were, however, those who wished to bring the Latinity of continental medicine to the British Isles. William Johnson was one of them.

Although little is known about his life, beyond the appearance of his books, the materials there show that Johnson was well connected with conservative as well as progressive members of the London medical establishment. The dedication of his chemical dictionary is to Sir Francis Prujean, who was president of the London College of Physicians from 1650 to 1654 and who kept a chemical laboratory at his house in what is now Prujean Square in London.[85] He does not claim to be a medical doctor, only a "chemist" (*Chymicus*), which he uses in the word's still-common British sense of compounding and dispensing apothecary.[86] He takes a properly deferential relationship to the senior physician, whose organization is charged with control of businesses like his within the city limits. His dictionary is entirely in Latin, the official language of medicine, and so will be of no use to the uneducated. However, it goes beyond chemistry to offer assistance with "obscure Hermetic words and concepts as well as Paracelsian phrases," and promises to do so in the "plain" speech favored by the new scientists.

With 244 quarto pages of definitions, Johnson's dictionary is second in length only to the one by Ruland. Moreover, unlike dictionaries published after theirs, it appears to draw from all its predecessors, though perhaps not from Bodenstein's. In the epistle to Prujean, Johnson refers to the dictionaries

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82 Paracelsus, *Fasciculus Paracelsicae Medicinae Veteris et Non Novae, per Flosculos Chimicos et Medicos, tanquam in compendiosum promptuarium collectos*, trans. Gerard Dorn (Frankfurt a. M.: n.p. [Christoff Rab?], 1581), 119r–244v. (Sudhoff 185) 1581, 245r–247v (Oo1r-Oo3r).

83 French 1650, A2r–A3r.

84 See Sudhoff, *Versuch* (see note 4), 569–96.

85 William Birken, "Prujean, Francis," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com (last accessed on Jan. 3, 2012).

86 Johnson may have belonged to the Company of Apothecaries, as is suggested by the appendix to his *Agyrto-Mastix* (London: H. Brome, 1665).

of Toxites, Dorn, and Ruland, while discussing both Paracelsus and his great seventeenth-century successor Johann Baptist Van Helmont.[87] Then in the prefatory note to the reader, he says more still about Paracelsus and his world.

Though he follows the earlier dictionaries, Johnson adds information not yet available to their compilers. With the metaphysical entities, such as the Adech and Iliaster, he follows Dorn. But with chemical and chemical apparatus, he adds some items and updates others. He says more than Ruland about different types of alcohol and solvents. His entry on the alchemical vessels called alembics develops Ruland's distinction between two different sorts, and names each one. As for the homunculus, he says nothing about it beyond updating Dorn's brief entry on "superstitious images."

Published nearly eighty years after Toxites's *Onomasticon*, Johnson's *Lexicon* is the last of the Latin dictionaries of Paracelsian terms. Reprinted in full in the last of the great alchemical anthologies,[88] it has been a reference source for later researchers like C. G. Jung.

IX Antoine-Joseph Pernety (1716–1796), Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961), and Others

The prolific Benedictine scholar Dom Pernety published a series of guides on everything from painting to geography. Influenced by the Enlightenment in Europe, he was especially interested in comparative culture and mythology. He published a comparative study of Greek and Egyptian mythology in 1658, "unveiled and reduced to the same principle,"[89] and complemented it with a dictionary that became his most famous effort.[90] Like Francis Bacon's book on *The Wisdom of the Ancients*[91] it is a work of euhemerism, giving natural explanations for

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87 Johnson 1652, A4r.

88 *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, ed. Jean-Jacques Manget, 2 vols. (Geneva: de Tournes, 1702), vol. 1, 217–91. On this anthology, see Thomas Willard, "Alchemy in the Theater, Museum, and Library, 1602–1702," Stanton J. Linden, ed., *Mystical Metal of Gold: Essays on Alchemy and Renaissance Culture* (New York: AMS Press, 2006), 215–30.

89 Antoine-Joseph Pernety, *Les Fables Égyptiennes et Grecques dévoilées & réduites au même principe, avec une explication des Hiéroglyphes, et de la Guerre de Troye*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bauche, 1758); reissued 1786.

90 Pernety, 1758. Antoine-Joseph Pernety, *Dictionnaire Mytho-Hermétique, dans lequel on trouve les Allégories Fabuleuses des Poètes, les Métaphores, les Énigmes et les Termes barbares des Philosophes Hermétiques expliqués* (Paris: Bauche, 1758; reprinted Paris: Delalain l'ainé, 1787).

91 Francis Bacon, *De sapientia veterum* (London: Ioannem BIllium, 1617).

supernatural stories. What it does, almost uniquely among dictionaries, is to add Hermeticism to mythology.

Pernety's working principle is that alchemy draws so heavily on mythology that it becomes a guide to the different myths and metaphors. He draws upon an older French dictionary, which also attempts to explain the "terms, fables, enigmas, and manners of speech of the true [hermetic] philosophers."[92] The author of that work, "un Amateur de la Science" usually identified as Gaston de deux Claves, drew from a wide range of alchemical authors, including Paracelsus.[93] He was not much interested in Paracelsian terms; we find, for example, that "Iliaster is the material of philosophers" (Iliastre: c'est le matiere des Philosophes).[94] He has nothing to say about the Adech, the homunculus, or the spagyric art.

By contrast, Pernety writes with authority and at length. Indeed, at 546 pages, his dictionary is longer than Ruland's by one-sixth, though of course it covers mythological information that Ruland touches only occasionally. His main source on chemistry and chemical medicine seems to be Johnson's Lexicon, to which he regularly refers. But he also refers to Toxites and seems to draw from him for entries on Paracelsian topics like the Adech. He writes: "The Hermetic Philosophers give this name to the part of man what we commonly call the loins; sometimes they also refer to the spirit, which forms common ideas of things from which to imitate them in works of the hands" (Les Philosophes Hermétiques donnent ce nom à la partie de l'homme que nous nommons commonumément l'aine; quelquefois ils entendent aussi l'esprit, qui se forme des idées communes des choses pour les imiter dans les ouvrages de ses mains).[95] He skips the homunculus, but devotes half a column of text to different aspects of the Iliaster and related terms.[96] Meanwhile, he updates sixteenth-century entries to include later developments. For example, his entry on the Alkahest includes discussion of Van Helmont and Glauber as well as Paracelsus and Toxites.[97] Like Dorn, he has some short essays. On the philosophers, prima materia he no less than fifteen pages, half of them devoted to a list of various names used for it.[98]

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92 [Gaston de deux Claves], *Dictionaire Hermetique, Contenant l'Explication des Termes, Fables, Enigmes, Emblemes & manieres de parler des vrais Philosophes* (Paris: Laurent D'Houry, 1695).

93 *Dictionaire Hermetique*, A5v–A6r.

94 *Dictionaire Hermetique*, 81.

95 Pernety, 1758, 3.

96 Pernety, 1758, 214.

97 Pernety, 1758, 23–24.

98 Pernety, 1758, 268–81

The dictionary proved a mine for French poets, especially the proto-symbolist Gérard de Nerval.[99] As one learns from his semi-autobiographical stories "Sylvie" and "Aurélia," Nerval had access to the library of an uncle who belonged to the Enlightenment and shared Pernety's conviction that there was a universal language of symbolism behind all the poetic myths. Nerval was deeply interested in dreams, which he considered "a second life,"[100] and came to think of symbolism like Pernety's as the language of dream. Although he wrote under considerable mental distress, probably caused by tertiary syphilis, he anticipated the twentieth-century interest in the unconscious, associated with Freud and Jung.

Meanwhile, dictionaries like Pernety's gained new popularity with the occult revival that swept Europe at the turn of the last century. Ruland's huge lexicon was translated into English under quite unusual circumstances. In 1891, a wealthy Englishman from Norfolk, with a family title dating back to the reign of James I, wrote to Arthur Edward Waite (1857–1942), the author of a book on the Rosicrucians. He hoped that Waite would help him achieve his long-standing dream of finding the philosophers' stone or, at least, could arrange for the translation of alchemical texts, beginning with Ruland's *Lexicon*.[101] Waite engaged a friend to translate Ruland's dictionary and added "A supplement ... containing the terms of the philosophers and the veils of the great mystery." For the supplement, he relied on Pernety among other sources. The book was printed privately the following year, in a run limited to six copies.[102] It remained a scarce item until 1964, when Geoffrey Watkins produced a commercial facsimile under the imprint of his late father, John M. Watkins.[103] The senior Watkins had been a follower of Madame Blavatsky and the proprietor of an occult bookshop that opened in 1897. Waite's books on alchemy and other esoterica were being reissued in the 1960s, and this rare one was added to the list, perhaps using the personal copy of the elder Watkins.

Waite continued the relationship with the aristocratic student of alchemy, by now the eleventh Lord Stafford. There followed a series of translations, which

99 See Georges Le Breton, *Nerval, poète alchimique: la clef des Chimères et des Mémorables d'Aurélia: le Dictionnaire Mytho-Hermétique de dom Pernety* (La Bégude-de-Mazenc, France: Curandera, 1982)

100 See the opening sentence of "Aurélia; or, la rêve et la vie" in Gérard de Nerval, *Les Filles du feu, La Pandora, Aurélia*, ed. Béatrice Didier (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), 291

101 R. A. Gilbert, *A. E. Waite: Magician of Many Parts* (Wellingborough, England: Crucible, 1987), 95.

102 Ruland, 1893, 331. Waite seems to reword entries that he uses in the supplement, but compare his entries on aspects of Saturn (422) with those of Pernety (449–52).

103 Martinus Rulandus, *A Lexicon of Alchemy*, ed. Arthur Edward Waite (1893; London: John M. Watkins, 1964).

proved frustratingly hard to find. (The vigilant Sudhoff complained that one of the volumes could not be found in any British library.[104]) The last and largest item on the lord's wish list, which Waite considered "the magnum opus of the whole incredible adventure,"[105] was a translation of the principal alchemical texts of Paracelsus. It appeared in two stout volumes in 1894, fortunately printed in a larger run, and included "A Short Lexicon of Alchemy."[106] The energetic editor wrote modestly that he translated only a few sections of the texts, all taken from the Latin folio of 1658, but he probably had a hand in the lexicon. The lexicon in the 1658 version covers only a few pages, extracted from Le Baillif's "little dictionary." Waite's, on the other hand, runs to nearly fifty pages of small type and includes almost all the unusual terms in the pages translated. The definitions are often his own summaries of Paracelsian or alchemical doctrine, rather than translations from older definitions.

We have moved from the German-speaking world, where the first Paracelsian dictionaries were produced, to France and England and have avoided still other countries and languages. We must now return to Switzerland and the little town of Einsiedeln, in Canton Uri, where Paracelsus was born. Here, on the 350th anniversary of Paracelsus's birth, the Swiss physician and psychologist C. G. Jung gave a public lecture that he would expand many times over, adding many details from the obscure language he quoted and from dictionaries that tried to define that language.[107] He focused on the unusually complex Latin of *De Vita Longa*, which has more coinages than any other early tract.[108] Here, he thought, were clues to the roots (*Hintergründe*) of spiritual problems that Paracelsus faced in reconciling his religious background with the circumstances of sixteenth-century Europe.[109]

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[104] Sudhoff, *Versuch* (see note 5), 678.

[105] Quoted in Gilbert, *A. E. Waite* (see note 101), 95.

[106] Waite, 1894. The volumes were also reprinted under the Watkins imprint (London: John M. Watkins, 1964).

[107] C. G. Jung, "Paracelsus als geistige Erscheinung," *Paracelsica: Zwei Vorlesungen über den Arzt und Philosophen Theophrastus* (Zürich: Rascher, 1942), 43–176.

[108] See Benzenhöfer, *Studien zum Frühwerk des Paracelsus* (see note 35). Also see Thomas Willard, "Living the Long Life: Physical and Spiritual Health in Two Early Treatises of Paracelsus," *Religion und Gesundheit: Der heilkundliche Diskurs im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien, 3 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 347–80, esp. 361–63.

[109] Jung, "Paracelsus" (see note 102), 8.

Jung faced a real challenge: to celebrate Paracelsus without celebrating the populist, or *völkisch*, view of him as champion of Aryan racial theory.[110] He was aware that National Socialism had brought out the shadow side of the German psyche, and, without saying it, he saw the split foreshadowed in Paracelsus. After recalling that Paracelsus lost his mother at an early age, and never found a replacement, whether in the mother church, in an academic alma mater, or even the mother language he wrote when he took up the healing arts of his father. Jung sensed a division even in the polemics of those writings:

> Paracelsus was a little too sure he had his enemy in front of him, and did not notice that it was lodged in his own bosom. He consists of two persons who never really confronted one another. He nowhere betrays the least suspicion that he might not be at one with himself.[111]

Jung is clearly alluding to the words of Goethe's Faust, who tells his assistant:

> Zwei Seelen wohnen, ach! in meiner Brust,
> Die eine will sich von der andern trennen.[112]

> [Two souls, alas, are housed within my breast,
> And each will wrestle for the mastery there.]

Drawing from his clinical experience, Jung notes that people grow irritable and impatient if they find themselves in a struggle like that of Paracelsus, who was always trying to contradict an adversary. Such people want to have their way at all costs, even clarity:

> Generally certain symptoms appear, among them a peculiar use of language: one wants to speak forcefully in order to impress one's opponent, so one employs a special, "bombastic" style full of neologisms which might be described as "power words." This symptom is observable not only in the psychiatric clinic but also among certain modern philosophers, and, above all, whenever something unworthy of belief has to be insisted on ... .[113]

This kind of verbal magic amounts to an addiction (*Sucht*), Jung says, noting that Paracelsus was so addicted to neologisms that even his followers needed glossa-

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110 For good background on the politics of the essay, see Martin Haeusler, "Alchemie und die Psychologie des Unbewussten: C. G. Jungs Interesse in Paracelsus," Martin Haeusler und Paul Letter, *C. G. Jung und Paracelsus: Lebendiges Erbe* (Krummwisch: Königsfurt, 2002), 9–19.

111 C. G. Jung, "Paracelsus as a Spiritual Phenomenon," *Alchemical Studies*, trans. R. F. C. Hull (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 120.

112 Goethe, *Faust*, lines 1112–13.

113 Jung, "Paracelsus" (see note 111), 121. Jung does not use the word "Bombastic," but rather Kraftstil ("power style").

ries to know what he was saying. Paracelsus did not even explain his nonce words, coined for use on a single occasion, Jung says, and he forces readers to compare different passages to understand the usage of any one term.

Jung proceeds to compare passages of Paracelsus, just as he did when writing about older alchemists. For the Iliaster, he finds to his apparent surprise that "Paracelsus appears as a pioneer not only of chemical medicine but of empirical psychology and psychotherapy."[114] The Iliaster turns out to be "a kind of universal formative principle and principle of individuation."[115] The last word here, "individuation," is a key word of Jungian or Analytical Psychology, defined at length in Jung's 1921 work psychological types.[116] Jung was a terminological buccaneer himself, recycling the term *principium individuationis* from medieval commentaries on Aristotle. But the point is that he allegorizes the vocabulary of Paracelsus and the alchemists very much as Pernety and others did, but interpreting Paracelsian words in terms of his own research into the workings of the unconscious. The Aquaster ("water star") of Paracelsus, which Ruland treats as the simulacrum of a thing, very nearly describes for Jung "the modern concept of the unconscious."[117]

Jung says more about the dark side of Paracelsus in this essay, and more about the sunny side in the shorter, more general essay he paired with it. He clearly identifies to some extent with the Swiss physician of four centuries earlier and considered the neologisms something of an aberration. "It is odd indeed," he wrote, "that Paracelsus, who prided himself on teaching and writing in German, should have been the very one to concoct the most intricate neologisms out of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and even Arabic."[118]

In addition to his attempts in the essay to systematize some of the strange vocabulary, Jung assisted with the glossary that accompanies the lavishly illustrated collection of Paracelsian sayings that his student Jolande Jacobi produced.[119] He also wrote a preface for the English translation of the book,

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114 Jung, "Paracelsus" (see note 111), 189.

115 Jung, "Paracelsus" (see note 111), 137.

116 C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types*, trans. H. G. Baynes and R. F. C. Hull, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 24; see 448–50. The section of "Definitions" (*Wörterbuch*) covers a fully eighty pages of this volume.

117 Jung, "Paracelsus," 140.

118 Jung, "Paracelsus," 121

119 Paracelsus, *Arzt und Gottsucher an der Zeitenwende: Eine Auswahl aus seinem Werk*, ed. Jolande Jacobi, 2nd ed. (1941; Olten: Walter, 1991), 315–28. The Wörterbuch covers 14 pages of small type.

which has remained in print ever since.[120] In the preface, he commended his protégée for presenting the whole of Paracelsus, and not attempting to compartmentalize him.

X Conclusions

In the afterward to his "great surgery," the major text of medicine published during his lifetime, Paracelsus stated that he wrote in the language of his birthplace, in Switzerland, so that anyone could benefit from his work, and used no rhetorical flourishes because he wished to be judged on his ideas rather than his style.[121] He was going against tradition in using the vernacular rather than the academic Latin, as he had broken tradition when he lectured in German to medical students in Basel. But because he wanted to reach everyone in the world, his disciples in the next generation realized that his work needed translating into Latin and the other vernacular tongues. Therefore there was a double effort to get his complete works published and translated. After completion of the collected German writings,[122] attention shifted to the Latin writings and translations into other European languages.

The new emphasis on the vernacular created a definite ambiguity. On the one hand, the many neologisms of Paracelsus implied that he wanted readers who recognized the origins of many coinages in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew or had a mentor to explain them. On the other hand, the suggestion that German was an adequate language for ultimate truths made the learned languages seem less essential. Until Paracelsus, early modern medicine had a humanistic tone; writers on medicine were thoroughly trained in classical grammar and rhetoric, as one can still see in the early efforts of Toxites and Rulandus. After Paracelsus, however, an anti-humanistic tone set in. The "Christian Paracelsian encyclopedia" of Samuel Eisenmenger, written in German and published in 1585,

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120 Paracelsus, *Selected Writings*, ed. Jolande Jacobi, trans. Norbert Gutermann, 2nd ed. (1951; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), xxi–xxii. Jung's relations with Jacobi were notably impatient; he once threw her out of his office and down the staircase as well. See Maggy Anthony, *The Valkyries: The Women Around Jung* (Longmead, Dorset, England: Element Books, 1990), 59.

121 *Die Grosse Wundertzney*, in Sudhoff, vol. 10, 199.

122 Paracelsus, *Die Bücher und Schriften*, ed. Johannes Huser, 10 vols. (Basel: Conrad Waldkirch, 1589–1591); two volumes of surgical writings followed in 1605 and 1618.

presented a radical revision of the humanistic outline of learning.[123] Its three books covered the liberal arts, but with a new take.[124] Book 1 omits grammar, dialectic, and poetics from the standard curriculum as being unnecessary for the German merchant. Book 2 reduces natural science (*physica*) to medicine and treats the works of Paracelsus, along with the Bible, as the basis for a proper training for physicians. Finally, book 3 reduces the metaphysics of Aristotle to natural philosophy while emphasizing practical knowledge over book learning. The appendices cover physiognomy, miracles (*Wunderwircken*), and weather forecasting (*Witterungen*). Eisenmenger, who wrote as Siderocrates ("star power"), asserted that "such arts could only be sought by godly knowledge and only be found and learned in the books of God and his servants" (*daß auch solche Künst allein bey Gott durch den Glauben gesucht, vnd inn den Büchern Gottes vnnd seiner Diener bezeget vnnd gelehret sollen werden*).[125]

In a similar vein, John French apologized for his translations, as we have seen, saying that there were already too many books in the world. By that he meant books other than the Bible and the Book of Nature.[126] And when the Bible could be read and quoted in English, he saw no need for the original languages, let alone the Latin of the Roman Catholic Vulgate. Although he was highly literate, we glimpse a trend that would flourish in the English-only legislation being proposed in Britain today as well as in American states like Arizona.

The historian Perry Miller noticed this trend already at work in Germany before it came to colonial America: "From the time of the Anabaptists at Münster, Protestant theologians strove with might and main to keep justification by faith from becoming a justification of illiteracy. Such a perversion," to Miller, suggested "that faith can and should dispense with learning."[127] Such learning as did occur in the New England that Miller described was often "new learning," in response to a new land with flora and fauna quite new to the colonists. Even in the seventeenth century, there was a realization that scientific research could not be separated from the environment in which it was practice. This was indeed a lead-

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123 Samuel Siderocrates, *Cyclopaedia Paracelsica Christiana: Drey Bücher von dem waren ursprung und herkommen der freyen Künsten* (Brussels: n.p. 1585).

124 Christel Meier, "Organisation of Knowledge and Encyclopaedic *Ordo:* Functions and Purposes of a Universal Literary Genre." *Pre-Modern Encyclopedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second Comers Conference, Groningen, 1–4 July, 1996*, ed. Peter Binkley (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 103–26; here 122–24.

125 Siderocrates, *Cyclopaedia Paracelsica Christiana* (see note 125), title page.

126 See note 62 above. The quotation there follows comments on the Bible and Nature (French 1650 A3v).

127 Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939), 73.

ing theme of Paracelsus, whose works were studied by the son of John Winthrop, the first Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Critics of Paracelsus charged that he never stayed in one place long enough to see the long-term consequences of his radical treatments. He responded by saying that he traveled because diseases traveled. Nature might be a book, as the popular commonplace said, but it said different things on different pages. As one moved from place to place, in the Book of Nature, one encountered new diseases but also new treatments.[128] In the same way, as one traveled one came across new dialects, new idioms, and finally new languages, each with subtle variations. Moreover, the diseases and treatments changed subtly over time, as did the languages people spoke. Here Paracelsus was at his most modern. Even while looking to the heavens for the source and influence of life on earth, he realized that they were not eternal and unchanging, as Aristotle had taught. This was not to deny providence, but to assert it: the whole creation was changing according to God's plan and man was changing with it.

This, Michael Kuhn concludes, is why Paracelsus could only dream about a universal language of medicine, and knew he could not create one.[129] This, perhaps, is also why he was so "addicted" to multilingual neologisms. Jung may well be right that, like other doctors then and now, Paracelsus loved using "magically incomprehensible jargon for even the most ordinary things."[130] At the same time, however, his true audience was not the academics he railed against, let alone the suffering patients he wrote about, but the select few readers who could understand his words and make use of them. Like the alchemists of his time, who protested that they could say no more than they did without placing dangerous secrets in the hands of dangerous men, he thought of his true readers as deserving men aided by the light of Nature (*lumen naturae*) and thus by God himself, from whom this light emanated. Perhaps in the process of puzzling over the multilingual coinages and comparing passages where they occurred, the ideal reader would have the ideal moment of recognition, when the light broke on the text and brought the message home.

Of course, ideas travel as well as people, and when early readers like Roche le Baillif brought the ideas of Paracelsus to readers in Brittany and Paris, it is also necessary to accommodate the readers of the local language. Because he wrote his essays on the new medicine in his native French, with only a few Latin quotations, he had to reassure readers he was familiar with the basic ideas.

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128 Paracelsus, *Four Treatises* (see note 12), 28–29.
129 Kuhn, *De nomine* (see note 14), 209–10.
130 Jung, "Paracelsus" (see note 106), 121.

In a seminal essay, the editor of this volume, Albrecht Classen, has noted how travel and migration encouraged multilingualism throughout the Middle Ages and early modern period.[131] They also influenced the study of language, as travelers sought to learn the languages of places they visited, in person or in books. The extensive publications of works by Paracelsus—in German, in Latin, and in vernacular translations—all helped to promote a sense of diversity in the challenges facing physicians and the chemical and other resources available to them.

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[131] Albrecht Classen, "Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: The Literary-Historical Evidence," *Neophilologus* 97.1 (Jan. 2013): 131–45.

Appendix 1: Some Paracelsian neologisms in English

[From the Oxford English Dictionary Online (last accessed October 19, 2015).]

aroph. Name given to various medicinal preparations of Paracelsus and the Paracelsians, said to be efficacious against the stone, quartan ague, etc. Etymology: According to Scott Suppl. to Chambers, a contr. for *aroma philosophorum* philosophers' spice.

azoth. (a) The alchemists' name for mercury, as the essential first principle of all metals. (b) The universal remedy of Paracelsus. Etymology: Corruption (ultimately) of Arabic *az-zāūq* ["the mercury"].

alkahest. A hypothetical universal solvent sought by alchemists. Etymology: post-classical Latin *alcahest*, first used by Paracelsus, and believed to have been arbitrarily invented by him with a form imitating Arabic nouns with preceding definite article.

archidoxis. The title of a work of Paracelsus; a collection of philosophical secrets. Etymology: modern Latin, <Greek ἀρχι- archi- prefix + δόξις opinion>.

bombast. *fig[urative]*. Inflated or turgid language; high-sounding language on a trivial or commonplace subject; 'fustian'; 'tall talk'. [This sense has been erroneously supposed to have originated in the name of Paracelsus (P. A. T.) Bombast von Hohenheim.] Etymology: A variant of *bombace*, bombase (French bombace).

colostrum. The milk secreted by a female mammal around the time of giving birth. Quotation: 1660. trans. Paracelsus *Archidoxis* iv. 48. The impure body, turns forth the Quintessence to its superficies, even as the Colostrum, or cream is Separated from the milk. Etymology: classical Latin *colostrum* (also *colustrum*), neuter, *colostra* (also *colustra*), feminine singular, of unknown origin.

elementate. To be (one or more of) the elements of (a substance). Etymology: modern Latin *elementat-* participial stem of *elementare*. The vb. elementare occurs in the Latin versions of Paracelsus; the original German has elementieren. Quotation: 1660. J. Harding, trans. Paracelsus *Archidoxis* i.ii.15. The substance … is not from that Element which … elementateth that substance.

essentificate. To make into an essence. Quotation: 1660. J. Harding trans. Paracelsus *Archidoxis* i.v. 74. Take Mercurie Essentificated, the which separate from all its Superfluities.

friation.   The action of rubbing or crumbling into small pieces. Quotation: 1657. R. Turner trans. Paracelsus *Of Chym. Transmutation* 43. The first beginning of its Resolution is not Friation. Etymology: Latin *friātiōn-em*, n. of action <friāre to rub into small pieces>.

generatrix. 1. A producer or cause characterized as feminine; a female parent, a mother. Quotation: 1657. H. Pinnell trans. Paracelsus *Three Bks. Philos*. ii. 32   The element of fire is the generatrix of the Stars, Planets, and the whole Firmament. Etymology: classical Latin *generātrīx* (female) producer.

gnome. 1a, One of a race of diminutive spirits fabled to inhabit the interior of the earth and to be the guardians of its treasures. Modern Latin gnomus, used by Paracelsus. Paracelsus (*De Nymphis* etc. Wks. 1658 II. 391, and elsewhere) uses *Gnomi* as a synonym of *Pygmæi*, and says that the beings so called have earth as their element (or, as he calls it, their chaos).

lapillation. Obs. (See quot.) Quotation: 1722. J. Quincey, *Lexicon Physico-medicum* (ed. 2) 229. Paracelsus calls the faculty [of turning any bodies into a stony nature] in a human Body. Etymology: Latin *lapillus*, diminutive of *lapis* stone. Remains unclear

laudanum. 1. In early use, a name for various preparations in which opium was the main ingredient. Etymology: modern Latin *laudanum*, used by Paracelsus as the name of a medicament for which he gives a pretended prescription, the ingredients comprising leaf-gold, pearls not perforated, etc. (*Opera* 1658 I. 492/2). It was early suspected that opium was the real agent of the cures which Paracelsus professed to have effected by this costly means; hence the name was applied to certain opiate preparations which were sold as identical with his famous remedy.

magnale. A great or wonderful thing, a marvel. Etymology: post-classical Latin *magnale* (15th cent. in Paracelsus), back-formation <classical Latin *magnāli*>.

mummia. 2. Alchemy. A vital principle (after Paracelsus's use). Etymology: post-classical Latin *mumia*, *mummia*, *mummy*.

Mummy. 2b. A sovereign remedy. Etymology: an embalmed corpse, substance, essence (1652 in a British source, in latter sense with reference to Paracelsus: see sense

nostoc. A gelatinous mass consisting of filamentous colonies of cyanobacteria. Etymology: post-classical Latin *nostoch* (1526 or earlier in Paracelsus), of uncertain origin. German *Nostoch* (1537 or earlier in Paracelsus; now usually *Nostoc*).

pygmy. A3. An elf, a pixie, a puck. Quotation: Sir T. Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, iv.xi. The Pygmies of Paracelsus , that is, his non-Adamicall men, or middle natures between men and spirits. Etymology: classical Latin *Pygmaeus* (noun, usually in plural, *Pygmaeī*; post-classical Latin *Pygmeus*).

salamander. 2b. A spirit supposed to live in fire. See Paracelsus, *De Nymphis*, *Sylphis*, *Pygmæis*, et *Salamandris*, etc., in Wks. (1658) II. 388 seqq. Etymology: Latin *salamandra*, < Greek σαλαμάνδρα.

spagyric. A1. The science of alchemy or chemistry. Etymology: early modern Latin *spagiricus* (used, and probably invented, by Paracelsus).[132]

sylph. 1a. One of a race of beings or spirits supposed to inhabit the air (orig[inally]. in the system of Paracelsus). Etymology: modern Latin (plural) *sylphes*, German *sylphen* (Paracelsus *De Nymphis*, *etc*.), modern Latin *sylphi* (Paracelsus, Wks. 1658 II. 391).

sylvester. 1. In the system of Paracelsus, a spirit of the woods. Etymology: Latin *syl-*, *silvestris*.

undine. A. A supernatural female being, imagined as inhabiting the water; a nymph. Etymology: modern Latin *Undina* (Paracelsus, *De Nymphis* etc., in Wks. (1658) II. 391), < Latin *unda* wave. Hence also German *Undine,* French *ondine*.

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132 From the Greek roots spao ("to open") and ageiro ("to close").

Appendix 2: Select Bibliography of Paracelsian dictionaries

[An asterisk indicates a book I have not personally examined in hard or electronic copy, but have confirmed details in at least two catalogues or databases. For references to Sudhoff see note 4 above.]

Baillif, Roch le. 1578. "Dictionariolum declarans verborum significationes, quorum in re spagyrica vsi sunt Philosophi." *Le Demosterion de Roch le Baillif, Edelphe Medicin Sprgiric. Auquel sont contenuz Trois cens Aphorismes Latins & François. Sommaire veritable de la Medicine Paracelsique, extraicte de luy [i. e., Paracelsus] en la plus part, par le dict Baillif.* Rennes: Pierre le Bret. (Sudhoff 181a)

Baillif, Roch le., Bodenstein, Adam von. 1675. *Onomasticon Theophrasti Paracelsi eigne auszlegung etlicher Seiner wörter vnd preparierungen / Zusammen Gebracht.* Basel: Peter Perna. (Sudhoff 159)

Dorn, Gerard, 1581. "Paracelsian Dictionarium," id., *Fasciculus Paracelsicae Medicinae Veteris et Non Novae, per Flosculos Chimicos et Medicos, tanquam in compendiosum promptuarium collectos*, ed. Gerard Dorn. Frankfurt a. M.: n.p. (Christoff Rab?) 119r–244v. (Sudhoff 185)

Dorn, Gerard, 1583. *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi, Contiens obscuriorum vocabulorum, quibus in suis Scriptis paßim vtitur, Definitiones. A Gerardo Dorneo collectum, & plus dimido auctum.* Frankfurt: n.p. [Christoff Rab?]. (Sudhoff 198)

Dorn, Gerard, 1584. *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi, Contiens obscuriorum vocabulorum, quibus in suis Scriptis paßim vtitur, Definitiones. A Gerardo Dorneo collectum, & plus dimido auctum.* Basel: Peter Perna, 1584. (Sudhoff 203)

Dorn, Gerard, 1618. "Die Erklärung etlicher dunkler vnverständlicher Orter, Reden vnd Wörter in Paracelsi Schriften." Ji3v–Ji8v. *Theophrastische Practica, Das ist, Außerlesene Theophrastische Medicamenta*, trans. Michael Horning. [Halle]: Michael Oelschlägel. Ji3v–Ji8v. (Sudhoff 305)

F[rench], J[ohn], trans. 1650. *A Chymicall Dictionary Explaining Hard Places and Words met withall in the writings of Paracelsus, and other obscure authors.* All which are faithfully translated out of the Latin into the English tongue, by J. F. M. D. London: Thomas Williams, 1650. Reprinted 1674. Bound with Micheel Sandivogius [i. e., Michael Sendivogius], A New Light of Alchymie, trans. J. F. (Sudhoff 365) Reprinted 1674 (Sudhoff 403)

Johnson, William. 1652. *Lexicon Chymicum: Cum obscuriorum verborum, et rerum hermeticarum, tum phrasium Paracelsicarum.* London: Guiliam Nealand.(Sudhoff 371) Reissued 1652/1653 (*Sudhoff 380) Reprinted 1657, 1660 (*Sudhoff 391); also reprinted Frankfurt and Leipzig: Ellinger, 1678. (*Sudhoff 409)

Pernety, Antoine-Joseph. 1758. *Dictionnaire Mytho-Hermétique, dans lequel on trouve les Allégories Fabuleuses des Poètes, les Métaphores, les Énigmes et les Termes barbares des Philosophes Hermétiques expliqués.* Paris: Bauche. (Reprinted Paris: Delalain l'ainé, 1787).

Rulandus, Martinus, Sr. and Jr. 1612. *Lexicon Alchemiae, sive Dictionarium Alchemisticum, cum obscuriorum Verborum, & Rerum Hermeticarum, tum Theophrast-Paracelsicarum*

Phrasium, Planum Explicationem contiens. Frankfurt a. M.: Zacharias Palthenius. (Sudhoff 291) Reprinted Frankfurt a. M.: Johann Andrea, 1661. (Sudhoff 394) Reprinted Frankfurt a. M.: J. Andrea and W. Endter, 1661; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964.

Rulandus, Martinus, 1893. *A Lexicon of Alchemy or Alchemical Dictionary: Containing a Full and Plain Explanation of All Obscure Words, Hermetic Subjects, and Arcane Phrases of Paracelsus.* [Trans. Julius Kohn? Ed. A. E. Waite.] London: privately printed. Reprinted London: J. M. Watkins, 1964; York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1984.

Toxites, Michaelus. 1574. *Onomasticon alterum. Theophrasti Paracelsi. Hoc est: Earum, quibus Theophrastus Paracelsus in suis scriptus usus est, per varias linguas explicatio.* Idem. Onomastica II: I. Philosophicam, Medicam Synonym ex variis linguis. II. Theophrasti Paracelsi: Hoc Est, Earum vocum, quarum in scriptis eius solet usus esse, explicatio. 384–488. [Basel: Bernhard Jobin.] (Sudhoff 154)

Waite, Arthur Edward. 1894. "A Short Lexicon of Alchemy, Explaining the chief terms used by Paracelsus and other Hermetic Philosophers." *The Hermetic and Alchemical Writings of Paracelsus.* Ed. and trans. Arthur Edward Waite et al. 2 vols. London: James Elliott. Vol. 2, 348–86.

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